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RACE RELATIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE.

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BASED UPON AN ECONOMIC MODEL OF SOCIAL ASSETS AND DEFICITS, A NUMBER OF THEORETICAL FORMULATIONS ARE SUGGESTED FOR RESEARCH TO DETERMINE HOW NEGROES MAY ATTAIN POWER OR PERSONAL OPPORTUNITY AND STATUS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY EQUIVALENT TO THAT ENJOYED BY THE WHITE MAJORITY. PRIMARY DEFICITS HELD BY NEGROES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY INCLUDE LIMITATION OF SOCIAL ACTION AS A CONSEQUENCE OF SKIN COLOR, RELATIVELY LOW ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER, COMPARATIVELY LOW FAMILY AND COMMUNITY COHESION, AND THE LARGER SOCIETAL ATTRIBUTES OF WHITE PREJUDICE, LIMITED NUMBER OF JOBS REQUIRING LITTLE EDUCATION, AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF LIVING ON A SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY. PRIMARY ASSETS INCLUDE GROWING POLITICAL POWER AND AN EXPANDING NATIONAL ECONOMY WHICH MAKE POSSIBLE THE ALLOCATION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES FOR RAISING NEGRO POWER. RESEARCH IS PROPOSED TO DETERMINE WAYS FOR CONVERTING INTO POSITIVE SOCIAL CHANGE FACTORS A NUMBER OF RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THE NEGRO COMMUNITY, INCLUDING COMMUNITY TRUST AND COHESION, FAMILY AND PERSONAL RESOURCES, LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS, ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY, AND THE POWER POTENTIALS OF DIRECT VOTE, GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION, AND COLLECTIVE ORGANIZATION. A DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF 11 RELEVANT THEORIES OF CHANGE OUTLINES ACTION AREAS (OCCUPATION, FAMILY, SCHOOL, LOCAL COMMUNITY, ELECTIONS, LEGISLATURE, COURTS, AND COLLECTIVE POLITICAL ACTION), SOURCES AND FOCI OF CHANGE (THE INDIVIDUAL, THE COMMUNITY, AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS), INTERACTION BETWEEN RESOURCES, AND CORRELATION OF RESOURCE INPUT-OUTPUT WITH ARENAS OF ACTION. THIS PAPER WAS PREPARED FOR A CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, APRIL 7-9, 1967). (JK)

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Race Relations and Social Change

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This paper was prepared for a conference on Social Science Research in Race Relations at University of Michigan, April 7-9, 1967. I am grateful to a number of persons for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, in particular members of the Conference itself, at which an earlier draft was presented and discussed. Additional comments from Daniel Moynihan, Martin Rein, Peter Rossi, and Arthur Stinchcombe have been helpful in revision. A survey of research on effects of welfare activities by Martin Rein, cited in the list of references, was especially helpful in section 5 of part II.

INTRODUCTION

The problem to which this paper is addressed is a very general one in all societies, though more acute in some than others. It is the problem of how a distinct subgroup, in society, without power and without the direct resources for gaining power, can nevertheless come to gain power, either individually or as a group. My use of the term "power" here is not in the sense of power over another group. I mean a position in society having as much power over one's own life and over community and national actions as do other citizens, in short, a position in society that makes real, rather than potential, the power of each individual implied in a document like the U.S. Constitution.

This problem may be described in such general terms because of its applicability to many societies. In many Latin American societies, a large mass, a proletariat, lives in poverty, with little effective political power, with little economic strength, with little education, while a small elite controls the society. In South Africa, the division is a racial one, with the large mass of colored and blacks remaining without political power or economic resources. In England, the line of demarcation is defined by social-class-and-family, but still with the consequences of effective lack of resources by those on the wrong side of the line. In the United States, the most important line of demarcation is a color line. Despite the fact that there exists wide variations within the group of whites and within the group of Negroes, it is nevertheless true that the cluster of high political power, economic well-being, education, and effective opportunity (for all these things go together) is found principally among whites, while a large proportion of Negroes is characterized by the cluster consisting of little political power, poverty, poor education, and lack of effective opportunity. Since the United States has long been a land of absorption of impoverished immigrants, this clustering of disadvantages in an ethnic group has been a frequent occurence in our history. Negroes, however, were an immigrant group with three particular disadvantages: they came from tribal societies without a culture of written language; they were black in a land of whites; and they were confined for generations as slaves. These three differences have combined to make the problem faced by Negroes in gaining constitutional power and economic opportunity a particularly difficult one.

Though I will address myself wholly to this single problem, that of Negroes gaining power in American society, many of the points will be of general relevance for the problem of bringing power to groups in society without it -- whether it be Brazil or Britain.

I will first present a general framework within which the problem of social change in relation to Negroes can be viewed, then will review research and theory relevant to this framework, and finally will discuss the research necessary to make this framework useful for policy.

Any discussion of purposive social change implies some ideas, at the very start, of just what the desired or optimum state of the future is toward which change might be directed. However, to specify such an optimum in any detail would obviously lead to endless debate, for each of us has his own vision of the future, and each will differ from the others. It is possible, however, to list those political, economic, social, and personal deficits experienced by Negroes in America, and to take these as the focal points of change. For it is these deficits which define the condition of Negroes relative to the remainder of American society, and it is only the removal of these deficits that will provide that equality of opportunity that is central to any of the optimum future states we might define. This is not, of course, to imply that every aspect of Negroes' lives is marked by a deficit compared to other Americans, but rather that it is the deficits that constitute the foci of change. Certain assets held by Negroes may be tools to aid in effecting the elimination of the deficits.

The general framework with which I will proceed involves two sets of resources in society. One set consists of all those resources held by a group that are desirable in themselves, resources which if deficient constitute deficits in that group's power or opportunity in society. The second set consists of all those resources that have the potential for generating resources of other types, that is, as a cause of change. This second kind of resource can constitute an asset whose value lies in its conversion to assets of other kinds. Some resources are in both these sets, for first, their relative size constitutes a measure of deficit, and second, they constitute assets that are convertible into assets of other types. In the discussion below, no distinction will be made between those resources that serve both as measures of deficit and potentially as convertible assets, and those resources that serve only the latter role, because it is not important to the framework itself, but only to its subsequent use. In principle, then, the framework would be used with any one or any subset of resources as the desired end products of change, the resources whose deficit condition for a population group is the measure of desired change.

After outlining in Part I the state of the system of resources, as a kind of balance sheet of assets and deficits, I shall examine in Part II the question of convertibility of assets of each type into assets of another type. It is here that most of the theories of social change come to be directly relevant. These theories hypothesize certain conversion processes by which assets of one type generate assets of another type.

Such "conversions of assets" occur in distinctly different types of action-situations. As a consequence, I shall consider next, in Part III, the different contexts of action through which the conversion occurs. These action-situations, or arenas of action, constitute a kind of system of production, within which resources of one type are converted into resources of another. As such, their results depend upon particular combinations of resources, and not upon single resources taken alone. The creation of certain assets such as economic power occurs through individual action in an occupational context, depending both upon individual productivity and job opportunity. Other assets such as organized political power are created principally in a context of collective action, and depend upon a combination of individual resources and laws regarding assembly. Still other assets such as intellectual achievement, are created principally in the institutional context of the school and the context of the home, and depend both upon individual resources such as strength of motivation, and the school's or home's intellectual resources.

Finally, after presenting this overall framework, within which are located various theories and hypotheses about social change, I shall turn in Part IV to research, asking how research may add certain assets that can aid in the elimination of the deficits in question. The research results themselves can constitute part of the system of assets of change, and it is within this framework that I propose to examine research. Thus I will discuss research programs not as they will contribute to general knowledge in this area, but as the results will constitute valuable assets for the reduction of deficits currently held by Negroes.

At the outset, then, I propose to list a set of resources relevant to the general areas in which Negroes currently experience a deficit compared to other Americans. Some of these areas can be considered areas of ultimate desired change, while some may be merely resources that can bring about this change. Those resources that are largely absent or exist at a low level, I will include in the list of deficits; those that are at a high level I will list as assets. The areasof desired social change constitute part of the list of deficits.

PART I - DEFICITS AND ASSETS

Deficits held by Negroes in American Society

1. Freedom of social action as a consequence of skin color

I use the phrase "freedom of social action" rather than "civil rights" or "social integration" or "segregation" partly because these other terms have come to have special connotations in recent usage, but partly because this phrase expresses the essential attribute of which the Negro, as a Negro, has been deprived in American society. The general condition includes segregation, but it is not limited to it. It consists of all those constraints and strictures placed upon an individual's action because his skin color categorizes him as Negro: the lack of freedom to associate with whom he wants, the unavailability of certain jobs, the impossibility of joining certain clubs or organizations or of being served at certain places of business, discrimination in housing and the enforced payment of deference by Negroes to whites in the South. Some of these deficits in freedom of action, or in "civil rights", have been reduced in recent years, but many remain.

I do not mean to include here those strictures on freedom of social action that arise from other aspects of most Negroes' condition: poverty, poor education, etc. These attributes bring their own consequences, some of which are identical to those described above, but it is important to analytically separate out those that arise from skin color itself, because the elimination of Negro poverty would not directly eliminate these; and conversely, the elimination of lack of freedom due to skin color will not eliminate the strictures on social action imposed by poverty.

Although this point is an elementary one, it is important to make clear, because not so long ago, many persons held the simple assumption that elimination of the strictures on action directly due to skin color would somehow erase all the social deficits held by Negroes. Though the elimination of skin-color constraints is far from complete realization, enough such change has occurred, principally through legal action and legislation, to make quite clear that the other deficits will not be automatically erased, even if skin color came to play no part in human interaction.

2. Economic power

The deficit in economic power held by Negroes in American society can be measured in a variety of ways: by average income, relative rates of unemployment, occupational distribution, ownership of wealth by Negroes, control by Negroes of economic institutions such as manufacturing firms or retail stores. It constitutes both a deficit in its own right, directly experienced, and a source of other deficits. For economic power is a very versatile power, able to bring social position or political strength, as well as direct satisfaction from consumption.

3. Political power

As with economic power, the political power held by Negroes is less than that of most other Americans. The average Negro is much less likely to be registered to vote, and less likely to vote if registered, than other Americans. He is less likely than a white to write letters to his Congressman, and knows few effective ways of influencing those in government (with exceptions, described below). At the state and local levels of government, his political power is likely to be reduced through gerrymandered districts and underrepresentation. In addition, Negroes are most often in a minority in any political unit, and thus stand the likelihood of losing on political issues in which there is a direct confrontation of racial interests. Negroes have less experience in holding office and in the organizational skills necessary to gain and hold office. Except in those districts where Negroes constitute a majority, a Negro is unlikely to be nominated to candidacy for political office.

Two factors provide a partial balance for this lack of individual and collective political power. First, most Negroes are more sensitive than most whites to racial issues, and even as a minority may provide the balance of power that will elect a desired candidate when the whites are split. Second, and more important, the organized direct action of Negro civil rights groups has come to constitute enormous power at the national and local level. Although Negroes' political power and efficacy through usual channels of democratic politics, such as voting, is low, collective Negro political power through the effective use of direct action has come to be very great.

The importance of political power is as obvious as the importance of economic power: it can affect greatly the other social and economic conditions that characterize the Negro. One evidence of this is the change in appeals and actions of political candidates in those districts of the South where increased Negro registration has made the Negro vote for the first time important enough to be sought after. Another evidence is the changes of Congressmen from the urban North, pushing Negro demands in Congress because of the newfound political strength of Negroes in their constitutencies. The presently least politically powerful Negroes are those in the traditional situation, the rural South, where many Negroes are not now and never have been registered to vote, and where there is frequently no organized civil rights activity.

4. Community cohesion

A fourth deficit held by Negroes in America is the low level of social cohesion that characterizes Negro communities. American communities, particularly in urban areas, have a generally low level of community cohesion; but this absence of cohesion is far more pronounced in Negro communities. This particularly characterizes the slums of the urban North, where transiency and other conditions make community solidarity difficult to achieve. Such cohesion or solidarity would constitute a great asset to Negroes' social condition, for it would give them collective strength both in making external demands (e.g., on city government, or landlords), and in enforcing internal constraints (e.g., against delinquency and crime). Community solidarity would create an enormous asset as well in the existence of community institutions that would provide a variety of services and aids that could partially compensate for the absence of individual economic resources. Its relative absence leaves the individual urban Negro particularly vulnerable to the organized economic and governmental forces and to individuals from outside the Negro community, as well as to the unrestrained predations of persons within it. In many underdeveloped areas that share with American Negroes a lack of political and economic power, community solidarity constitutes an important asset in the struggle towards development. The examples of the solidarity of ethnic groups such as Jews and Chinese indicate the tangible assets this solidarity provides: mutual aid groups, lending arrangements, economic assistance for establishing a business, and a community disciplinary force that reduces the costs of crime to near zero.

5. Family cohesion

Closely related to community cohesion, but distinct from it, is family cohesion. The Negro family pattern, in both urban and rural America, is marked by the breakdown of the nuclear family unit, and the substitution of a matriarchal three-generation family. The weakness of the conjugal bond among Negroes has consequences for the economic stability of the family, its ability to socialize the young, and the whole set of functions that the family provides for its members in modern society. In addition to the weakness of the conjugal bond and the relatively unimportant position of the male in the household in Negro families of low economic status (an attribute that to a lesser extent characterizes many lower economic groups other than Negroes), there is as well a cultural or normative poverty in the Negro family. The relative absence of a cultural tradition with a strong family unit means that the Negro mother is more nearly cast on her own unaided resources in maintaining the family and socializing the children. This is a powerful deficit particularly because of the importance of these functions for the next generation.

The three-generation pattern of family life, with matrilineal kinship bonds, does provide some assets that partially substitute for others. For example, this kinship structure often makes it possible for the female head of the household to hold a full-time job, while the children are attended to by the mother's mother or others in the matrilineal kinship group.

6. Personal resources

The average Negro in America suffers a serious deficit of personal resources, resources that could lead him to overcome some of the deficits described above. These include a relatively low level of academic achievement in school, preventing further education and narrowing the range of available jobs, a lack of organizational skills, the lack of information that could make possible rational action, and the absence of a feeling that one can affect his own situation. These deficits are symptomized by mental illness, by crime, by self-destructive actions such as delinquency and addiction to drugs and alcohol. These deficits of personal resources are partly caused by each of the deficits described above; but in turn, they help perpetuate those deficits. For example, the deficit in personal resources in one generation of females makes it impossible for that generation of females to compensate for the absence of family cohesion in socializing the next generation. The lack of personal resources in males makes it impossible to take full advantage of greater freedom of action in access to jobs, as patterns of discrimination are reduced.

This description of deficits in personal resources of Negroes does not imply the absence of personal assets, though it does imply that the deficits far outweigh the assets. It implies that the balance of deficits and assets is such that even if all other resources, including political and economic power, were equal at a given point in life, the average Negro in America could not maintain these resources at the same level as could the average non-Negro.

7. Attributes of the larger society that constitute deficits for Negroes

a. White prejudice

The most important attitude that constitutes a deficit for Negroes is the prejudice of many whites that leads them to act differently to Negroes than to other whites. This prejudice, both as it is directly acted upon, and as it constitutes an expectation which even unprejudiced whites will use as a basis of action (for example, in panic selling of houses when Negroes move into a neighborhood), is the principal source of the first listed deficit, lack of freedom of social action. The elimination of this prejudice would have an important effect on reduction of other deficits held by Negroes. This is not to say that the most efficient way to eliminate certain of those deficits is to eliminate prejudice, for prejudice is itself partly caused by some of those deficits. And whatever its cause prejudice may be one of the slowest deficits to change. Nevertheless, certain actions such as school integration may be important assets for reducing this deficit of prejudice.

b. Occupational studies

A second important attribute of the larger society that constitutes a deficit for Negroes is the present state of the occupational structure. This structure now, more than at any time in the past, and more than that of any other nation, has a paucity of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs requiring little education. Such jobs have been the first occupations after immigration for many immigrant groups. These jobs offer an entry into the employed labor force, and often a training-ground for other occupations. For many persons, they have been the first rung on the ladder of economic independence. Now that rung is less often available than in the past.

c. Division of labor

A third characteristic of American society that constitutes a deficit for many Negroes is that the economy itself is far from a subsistence economy, and has a very high level of division of labor. This means that many necessities of life, which in a subsistence economy can be provided by the individual's own labor, must be purchased with money. For a simple example, in many cities in other societies, working-class families are able to keep chickens in the back yard, and to raise a few vegetables. In the rural areas from which urban Negroes have migrated, this pattern is even more frequent. But in the parts of the urban North to which Negroes have migrated, such partial direct subsistence by one's own labor is not possible. The necessities must be obtained indirectly, through work at a job which is paid by money.

This non-subsistence character of the American economy increases sharply the impact of deficits (such as slowdowns in the economy or lack of personal resources necessary to hold a job) that lead to unemployment. The importance of money for subsistence living acts as a multiplier of the impact of economic deficits upon deficits in other areas.

There are many more attributes of the society that constitute deficits for Negroes, but without a more adequate theoretical framework for relating them to other elements, it is probably not useful to list them. The three attributes listed above give some idea of the range they cover. Although no list of such attributes will be given, certain of them will be mentioned at later points when appropriate.

The list of social deficits held by Negroes in America points to areas in which social change is necessary to make it possible for Negroes to have the same balance sheet in life as do non-Negroes. The deficits range all the way from conditions existing in the white community or in institutions controlled by whites to the personal characteristics of Negroes. Some of the deficits are important as measures of resources desirable in themselves; all are important through their effects in increasing or reducing other deficits. The question then becomes one of how these deficits are to be overcome. What resources or assets can be used to overcome any one of these deficits; and in turn, how will that change provide assets that overcome certain of the other deficits described above? The problem appears an enormous one, but it should be placed in some perspective. There are at present certain great assets that did not exist some years ago. Some of these assets will be described below.

Assets Held by Negroes

1. Political Assets

In at least three ways, there have been recent sharp increases in the political power of Negroes. First, the migration of Negroes into the urban North gave political strength to Negroes in the Congress through Congressmen whose political interests came to be dependent upon Negroes' interests. Second, there has been an increase in personal resources on the part of some Negroes in both South and North, due to urbanization and education. Third, the northern migration has led to an increasing focus of attention on the condition of Negroes in America by whites, particularly younger whites with high organizational and political skills and the absence of an opportunity to use these. This sympathetic attention itself constitutes a resource that was absent only a few years earlier. These last two changes, an increase in personal resources of some urban Negroes, and an increase in attention from resourceful whites, led to the civil rights movement, and the enormous political power that movement has created. This in turn has itself decreased the deficit in freedom of action of Negroes (through protest movements at the local level and legislation at all levels), the deficit in political power, (for example, through voter registration drives in the South), and the deficit in personal resources, by giving Negro activists organizational skills and a belief in their ability to affect their situation. Thus at present there are political assets that did not exist some years ago, which offer a potential resource for conversion into assets directly held by the average Negro.

2. Expanding wealth of the nation

An important asset currently held by Negroes in America is the rapid expansion of wealth in the society. At first glance it appears that this asset is valuable principally in making possible subsidies to education, housing, family support, health and other welfare measures which can eliminate certain deficits and facilitate the elimination of others.

However, to look at the question in this way is to take a too-narrow view, for the rate of expansion of wealth of the country has indirect consequences as well. An example is the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This bill required no allocation of the country's wealth. It was not a public welfare measure, but merely a redistribution of political resources. Yet one action that made this bill possible was the passage of a Cotton Act to aid cotton growing states. This bill, made possible by expanding economic resources, reduced opposition of Southern legislators to the Civil Rights Act to a level that made possible its passage.

The general principle of which this is an example is that at a time of expanding resources, conflict in which one side must lose can be readily transformed into action in which both sides gain. If resources are expanding, then an action is possible that makes both sides better off than they were before; if resources are stable or contracting, no such action is possible. It is important to note that the crucial variable which allows action is not the absolute size of the economic resources, but their rate of expansion.

This principle has special relevance to the problem of reducing Negro deficits. For if the set of resources in the nation were fixed, no matter at how high a level of economic wealth, reduction of deficits for Negroes could come only through reduction of the assets held by whites. Since it is not fixed, actions can be taken to reduce deficits of Negroes without reducing the assets of whites. In short, it means that actions can be taken that would otherwise confront immovable opposition.

An excellent example of this principle is in the problem of school integration in Northern cities. Negro demands for such integration are quite powerful. Yet they have not been powerful enough to bring about integration in the face of opposition by whites. It is likely that whatever measures were instituted, at a local, state, or national level, to bring about integration, white parents would find a way around it (e.g., middle class parents can now afford private schools), so long as they felt their children were being hurt by it. Since there is evidence that a child's achievement is affected by the socio-economic level of his fellow-students, and since in addition, many white parents hold a color prejudice, they are likely to feel that their children are being hurt by integration.

The only viable solution would appear to be to accompany school integration with an improvement in the quality of the school that at least compensates for the reduction in school quality that occurs with the introduction of large numbers of lower class children. That is, the fact of integration acts to reduce deficits of Negro children; but in order for this to be possible, it must be done without reducing assets of the white children necessary to it. In a system of expanding economic resources, this is possible, simply by allocating some portion of this increment in wealth to the creation of schools that are both integrated and greatly improved.

I have listed two types of current assets held by Negroes that can aid in overcoming deficits. This list is of course only a beginning; and any systematic analysis would require the list to be both longer and more systematic. In this paper, it is possible only to give an outline of the kind of approach that appears possible and useful. The two assets listed above will serve the purposes of that outline.

PART II - THE CONVERSION OF ASSETS

In gaining some idea of the efficacy of various types of social action and social policy toward erasing the deficits described above, the most important question is the convertability of assets of one type into assets of another. For example, if the deficits in freedom of action held by Negroes' because of skin color were to be erased, what would be the extent and timing of reduction of deficits in economic power? The answers to these questions of convertibility of assets are most important for public policy.

I suggest that the general framework within which these interdependencies can be usefully considered is the system of assets and deficits implied in the above. A variety of hypotheses and theories of social change will be discussed below. Each of these in effect hypothesizes certain convertibilities. Many of these hypotheses are in implicit or explicit conflict, and therefore a primary order of business is to gain a better idea of the convertibility of assets in each of these areas to assets in others.

1. Resources of Negro communities

It was indicated earlier that Negroes hold a deficit because of the low level of community cohesion in Negro residential communities. It is useful to spell out in some detail the kind of assets that can be provided by a community, and the use that may be made of such assets.

a. The level of interpersonal trust in a community

The quantity of trust existing in a community is a resource more directly related to a community's financial capital than is ordinarily realized. I will take a few paragraphs to indicate the intimacy of this connection.

Nearly all economic transactions involve a time difference between the delivery of goods by one party and that by the other. The institution of metallic or commodity money facilitates such transactions by providing a medium that is accepted by one party to the transaction in lieu of goods. But transactions are even further facilitated if promises to pay, or debts, can be accepted to cover this time-discrepancy. In small, close communities, such as the modern financial community in Wall Street, or in some primitive tribes, debts or promises do circulate in much the same way that money does. But in the larger society where partners to an exchange have no basis of trust for accepting such promises, the government or a central bank itself acts as the debtor and makes the promises, embodied in paper money, and commercial banks make further promises, embodied in bank credit. These monetary systems are at bottom based on trust, trust of institutions such as the government or a bank. This trust makes possible a far greater flow of economic activity than could otherwise occur, and constitutes a definite capital asset of the society. In modern society, it is usual to conceive of such economically-productive systems of trust in terms of the existing monetary system. But in sub-communities of the larger society, systems of trust may exist which constitute just as definite an economic capital asset. Two examples will illustrate this. In Lancashire around 1800, manufacturers had little trust in local merchant banks and even less in the central Bank of England. Yet they had great needs for money to facilitate economic activity. They developed the use of bills of exchange, with these bills or promises to pay circulating from one manufacturer to another as payment for goods received, and guaranteed by each party through whose hands it passed. Had it not been for the existence of widespread mutual trust among these men, economic development could not have taken place with such rapidity (Ashton, 1945).

The second example is the revolving credit associations existing in villages and towns of southeast Asia and Africa, as described by Geertz (1962). These associations consist of a circle of friends and neighbors who, in social gatherings at a member's house, make weekly or monthly contributions to a common fund that is then given to each member in turn, through some predetermined order or by lot. Though these systems vary widely, they all take the form of steady contributions and lump sum payments. Geertz describes these institutions as means of saving, that is accumulation of sufficient capital to make a major purchase, such as a bicycle, that could otherwise not be purchased. But these associations depend wholly upon a system of mutual trust which in effect constitutes a capital asset of the community. In a community without such trust, individuals would not be willing to take the necessary chance of loss, and no association could develop.

If, instead of the revolving credit association of primitive Asia and Africa, Negro slums in America are saddled by the numbers racket and other gambling schemes, the result is a great economic loss to the community, instead of a capital gain. In both cases, the individual pays steadily a small amount, in the prospect of receiving a large lump sum. But in the Negro community, in which the numbers racket is prevalent, the concentration of resources provided by the lump-sum payment is so uncertain that it leads to squandering rather than productive uses, and the payments returned are so small compared to the sum invested, that the racket constitutes a serious economic drain on the community, instead of a capital asset.

A further contrast exists by considering the revolving credit associations as mutual loan associations, and comparing them to the loan facilities in lower class Negro neighborhoods in America. The revolving credit associations are ordinarily initiated by one person who needs a loan for establishing a small enterprise or meeting an emergency. He receives the first payment of the revolving fund. The resulting interest he pays is to his neighbors, and thus remains within the community, and is at a lower rate than that offered by the commercial money-lenders. In the absence of the system of trust on which such associations are based, lower class Negroes in America must pay exorbitant rates of interest to a criminal-sponsored loan industry. This interest leaves the community, and is very high, imposing a tax that constititues a direct economic deficit for the community.

Examples similar to the revolving credit associations may be found in many communities. Certain craft workers have developed mutual benevolent societies, to insure one another against extremities of ill fortune. Among immigrant groups to the United States, as one family of immigrants became established and economically self sufficient, they would bring friends and relatives, helping them until they were established. In Amish communities, a man's barn or house is built by a collective enterprise consisting of the whole community. In such religious communities, in fact, the principal economic asset is the cohesion of the community, allowing it to confront all problems, internal and external, as a collective body.

In every group with little economic capital, such mutual-help arrangements develop, and they provide as definite a source of capital assets as does the more formal money that we ordinarily think of as capital. The point is that although they develop wherever monetary capital is scarce, their extent varies widely in different groups, depending on the system of trust that exists in the community. Although they do exist in Negro communities as a substitute for monetary capital, they often have a meagre foundation of trust, and are consequently poorly developed. The transiency that characterizes much of the Negro urban North, and in some cases the personal disorganization manifested in delinquency, crime, gambling, addiction, and alcoholism inhibits the development of community institutions based on trust.

The community institutions discussed above have all been rather direct substitutes for economic capital. But many community institutions based on mutual aid and thus ultimately on mutual trust, provide assets of other kinds. The collective confrontation of government officials, landlords, or merchants may provide improved living conditions that no individual could bring about. The existence of a community newspaper can conserve each individual's resources by sharing information that he could obtain only with difficulty. The existence of a strong parents' group can both exert pressure on the school for results, and aid it in gaining those results.

Yet all these activities depend on an extensive system of mutual trust -- a belief in my mind that if I aid you today, you will aid me when I am in need, and thus a willingness to make such an investment of resources in one's neighbors.

It is important to recognize that the benefits of community trust and cohesion depend both on the existence of the resource in the community, and the cohesion that allows its sharing. In upper middle class American communities, it is often remarked that resources existing in the community, in the form of occupational skills of adult males, are wholly unavailable to the children. Sometimes, attempts are made to bring these resources to the children, through a "careers night", or a similar exercise, at the school. But on the whole, one can say that these resources are of very little use to the community as a collectivity. A friend of an architect's son hardly knows what his friend's father does, and is almost never able to benefit from it - to be stimulated by it or even informed about the kind of work it entails.

In such communities, a set of individual resources that might be a community asset cannot be, because of the lack of community cohesion, and the particular structure of activities that separates the youth from adults other than their own parents. In contrast, in many village communities, the social cohesion exists, so that the youth are in contact with adults outside their family; but the variety of resources is missing, so that this child too fails to learn about what an architect does.

This example of sharing of occupational information - or the failure to do so - in upper middle class communities shows a case in which the potential community asset is not so directly economic as in the previous examples. The principle of shared resources holds quite independently of the kind of asset; the important point is that the resource exists in some members of the community, and that the community social organization be cohesive enough to allow its sharing. An important case is that of socialization and discipline of children. Where the family has extensive resources for controlling the actions of its children, these may or may not be shared throughout the community, depending upon its cohesion. In a cohesive community, a parent need have little concern about his child's activities, because he soon learns from neighbors if the child has misbehaved. This may be absent because of the lack of community cohesion - as it tends to be in upper middle class communities - or it may be absent because of the absence of the basic resource of discipline within the family itself. In lower class urban Negro neighborhoods, both the essential requirements appear to be missing.

Another important example is the care of children and households in emergencies. In the absence of hired resources, complicated welfare schemes, which seldom function adequately, must be devised to meet the emergencies that occur, or else the deficit is transfered to the children left to roam in the streets. In every case, the community deficit in cohesion becomes converted into deficits that are directly experienced by individuals, unless some other asset is substituted in its absence.

In short, it appears that the provision of any community asset requires two kinds of elements: it requires first of all some set of individual resources that can be shared (e.g., the small money incomes of Asian villagers, or the architect's skills in the hypothetical example above), and the community cohesion, institutions, and system of trust that allows these resources to serve the whole community. In the United States, middle class communities have a wide variety of resources, but lack the cohesion and trust to allow their utilization by the community. Negro lower class communities lack the cohesion and trust, and except for purely economic resources (which are far more abundant than in a southeast Asian village), lack many of the resources as well. Thus both of these elements are deficient, and both must be supplied if a given community asset is to come into existence. The community cohesion and trust acts as a "multiplier", multiplying the assets of individuals by the number of individuals, to make the assets available to each; but for this multiplication to provide a significant asset as a product, both terms must be of some size.

My use of the imagery of multiplication here is no vague analogy. This situation is a case of what economists describe as the problem of "supply of public goods". Public goods, such as a fire department which serves the whole community alike, will not be provided without either formal tax enforcement or informal community norms that constrains each to pay his share. A rotating credit association or a mutual benefit association is like a "public good" in that each person contributes to it, and each receives a return worth more to him than his contribution (a lump-sum payment, or insurance against a catastrophe).

The multiplication of individual resources by the size of the community in the case of perfect sharing of resources indicates the interaction that exists between different types of resources. In this case, the creation of a capital asset depends upon the existence of both the resource of community cohesion and individual resources. More generally, community cohesion and trust act generally as a multiplier of assets and a facilitator of social action. As indicated in the examples, this is an asset that is directly translatable into economic capital or political power.

There appears to be little question about, and little need for, research concerning the multiplier effects of the assets of community trust and cohesion. The principal research questions here seem to be how this cohesion and trust is itself created; what are the resources that lead to its development in a community?

2. Family Resources

The importance of the family as the principal socializing agent of the child is of course well known. What has only recently become evident is the great strength of the family's influence in relation to other socializing agents. For example, several studies comparing the relative importance of variations in family background and variations in school quality on the achievement of children in school show the much greater effects of variations in the family (see U.S. Office of Education, 1966, Department of Education and Science (England), 1967, and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). Jackson and Marsden (1964) show the continuity of the family's socializing effects over two or more generations, by the ability of families displaced from the middle class in one generation to guide their children back to it in the next. More general evidence on the socialization patterns of ethnic groups shows the relation of strong families to high achievement and low delinquency for different ethnic groups.

As a determinant not only of achievement, but of a child's personal resources generally, the family appears to be of importance not approached by any other factor.

This is a sword that cuts both ways, for it means not only that the assets of the family will be transmitted to become the assets of the child, but also that the deficits of the family will become the deficits of the child. Family resources cannot be supplied or withheld by government policy, as can some other resources. And it is family resources in which Negroes have probably the greatest deficit. The deficits are both cultural - the absence of cultural traditions that guide and assist parents in socializing their children - and structural. The structural deficits consist in the absence of a strong male role in the family and the frequency of families with the father absent entirely or only intermittently present. Moynihan (1966) and others argue, with some evidence, that it is particularly the structural defects which create an array of economic and socialization deficits.

This set of conditions creates a difficult situation for social change. The effect of family resources on personal resources is quite clear and evidently quite strong, but family resources appear to be first of all a major deficit of lower class Negroes, and secondly at least as difficult to modify as are personal resources themselves.

Such a situation would appear to lead to three possible avenues of change: to attempt to increase family resources, as a way of overcoming directly the family deficits and at one remove the personal deficits; to attempt to reduce the strength of the family's effect on the child's personal resources, either by greatly increasing the strength of other socializing agents, or reducing the child's contact with the family; or finally, to provide external aids, which allow families with a low level of resources to nevertheless socialize their children more effectively. An example of the latter is effective community or police action to control delinquent behavior, which aids parents otherwise unable to insulate their children from delinquent influences.

Modern totalitarian regimes have faced the problem of breaking the strength of family socialization in the period immediately after taking power. This was done both in Hitler's Germany and in Stalin's Russia through the use of boarding schools and strong youth associations acting as age-specific auto-socializing groups. Though it is not a question of breaking a family's socialization power here, it is a question of breaking into a pattern in which one generation's deficits are converted into those of the next. The society has shown little imagination and little application in facing this problem of missing family resources. It appears quite possible that an assessment of alternative socializing mechanisms for children (such as organized peer groups), and ways of increasing the socializing resources of families, would provide ideas that could greatly aid the socialization process.

Apart from the effects of families in socializing their children and thus transmitting assets or deficits to the next generation, family resources serve in other ways - in particular, as an alternative or substitute for personal resources or community resources. A strong family constitutes a kind of social insurance that cushions against reversals of fortune, illness, or any other events that tax or overwhelm the individual's resources. Because resources of a strong family may be concentrated to aid any single member, the family acts as does the community, described in a preceding section: as a multiplier of individual resources, allowing each individual to use his own resources to the limits, secure in the knowledge that the family reserve can aid him if necessary. A simple example will give the idea concreteness: A merchant with relatives who can provide him quick loans if necessary can make immediate commitments on bargain or large-lot purchases, which he could not do if forced to depend on the formal banking system.

Yet family resources can supplement not only personal resources, but community resources as well. Many activities may be alternatively carried out by the community or the family, and either will substitute for the other: Disciplining children, controlling crime and enforcing social norms, sheltering or aiding handicapped or otherwise dependent members; and the variety of other functions that communities and families perform. The family and community differ only in size, and in strength and permanence of attachment; but their potential functions are the same - except for the child-socializing function in which the community seldom substitutes for the family.

3. Personal resources

A number of theories of social change give primacy to personal qualities of one type or another. The advocates of this basis of social change include such a variety as the sociologist Max Weber (1948), the revolutionary Mao Tse-Tung (1963), philosophers Georges Sorel (1925), and Jean-Paul Sartre (1963), the psychologist David McClelland (1961). All these protagonists have in common the view that social change is produced by personal qualities on the part of some number of the population. I will give a brief account of the various types of such theories before discussing research strategy.

a. The achievement orientation theories

One general thesis argues that the personal qualities of hard work, thrift, orientation to achievement, either derivative from religious values, from family cultural traditions, from explicit training, or from some other source, are essential elements in much of social change. This thesis has gained its greatest psychological sophistication and most intensive study by McClelland. McClelland's thesis is that the "need for achievement" (which is similar to Weber's concept of the "Protestant Ethic") differs widely in different cultures and within a culture, and that individuals and societies (seen as aggregates of individuals) with high need for achievement will in fact achieve highly. McClelland has carried out a number of experiments and action programs that appear to confirm that need for achievement can be considered a general personality trait, that it can be induced by training, and that such induced need for achievement does lead to an increase in actual achievements in the real world. The sociological counterpart of such research is that begun by Weber in his linking together of the Protestant emphasis on individualism and individual responsibility for his fate, with the rise of capitalism in

Western society. The "Protestant Ethic" thesis has been subjected to both criticism (e.g., Tawney, 1927) and further research effort since Weber's time. The point of greatest question appears not to be the psychological linkage between the individualism of Protestant sect religion and a strong orientation to achievement, but the social and institutional linkage between such achievement orientation and economic growth.

Besides the general face validity of the argument that those who are achievement oriented will achieve, much evidence indicates that there are personality differences resulting from different family backgrounds, that have a powerful impact on achievement as indicated in the preceding section. A number of research results show that among different ethnic groups, those with families that impose the strongest demands on their children, and are themselves strongest (in particular, Jews, Chinese, Japanese), show the highest achievement, while those with the weakest and least demanding families (Negroes, American Indians) show lowest achievement. Within ethnic groups as well, the relation holds: the social and economic level of the family which is associated with the strength of the family and the strength of demands it makes on its children, accounts for more variation in school achievement and occupation than do any other environmental factors. Altogether, the impact of childhood experience within the family on a generalized personality trait of achievement orientation appears to be quite strong.

The psychological constellation leading to high achievement among Negroes appears to be somewhat more complex than suggested by the notion of an achievement orientation or need. The aspirations toward achievement held by Negroes, both adults and children, appear to be rather great, even among those whose achievement is low and stationary -- particularly aspirations to educational achievement. This is obviously a psychological oversimplification, for such Negroes might well score low on McClelland's nAch measures. Yet there is a peculiar and ill-understood phenomenon that appears to characterize many Negroes, adults and youth: a high, unrealistic, idealized aspiration, relatively unconnected to those actions that ordinarily lead to achievement of a goal.

A personality characteristic related to, but slightly different from, nAch has appeared in several studies to be a strong determinant of Negro achievement (U.S. Office of Education, 1966, Section 3.26; Bear, Hess and Shipman, 1966). This is a sense of "fate control" or of "personal efficacy", a sense that the environment will respond in an orderly fashion to one's actions. Its high relation to achievement, and the lesser relations between self-esteem and achievement, or aspirations and achievement, than is ordinarily supposed, may offer some hints about the motivational constellation that operates for these children.

The propositions under discussion here are of three orders: the first is a very straightforward proposition about the effect of personality characteristics ("values" or "motivation") upon individual achievement. These propositions can be directly studied by psychological research in the laboratory or in schools. It appears, as indicated above, that the psychological determinants of achievement may be somewhat different for Negro children than white children in the U.S..

A second set of hypotheses concerns the determinants of the psychological states leading to achievement. The strongest evidence in this area indicates the importance of the family; but the effect of other experiences has been studied by McClelland and others; and work by Weber and others has shown the importance of religious ideology in shaping these attitudes.

The third hypothesis concerns the aggregation of individual achievement into sociatal achievement. The proposition is that significant change in the rate of economic development in a society comes about as a result of increases in, or a higher level of, the relevant personality characteristics. These characteristics are seen as assets that can be converted not only into individual achievement, but also into economic development of the society or sub-society. As McClelland states the hypothesis (1961, p. 337), "The shortest way to achieve economic objectives might turn out to be through changing people first."

b. The revolutionary-transformation theorists

A second major variety of the thesis that social change derives from personal qualities is of a somewhat different sort, and as will be evident, more sociologically complex. It is the set of hypotheses characterizing "revolutionary" theorists such as Sorel, Sartre, and Mao Tse-Tung. The hypothesis that all these theorists hold in common, and is most emphasized by Sartre and Sorel, is this: Participation in revolutionary action transforms the previously apathetic masses, by giving them a goal and the hope of achieving the goal. The revolutionary action itself, and the rewards of success it brings to hard work, creates men who are no longer bound by traditional customs, inhibited by ascribed authority patterns, and made apathetic by the lack of hope. This psychological transformation, according to these authors, is a necessary prerequisite to the social and economic transformation. Applied to the case of Negroes in the United States, it would state that the real benefit of the civil rights movement is the psychological change it has produced and is producing in those Negroes active in it. A more radical application would be that only by engaging in a real revolution will Negroes be psychologically transformed in such a way that they can achieve their goals. For these theorists, the revolution plays the same role that individualist religion did for Weber, or family socialization for McClelland. The psychological mechanism is somewhat different, however, because it predicates psychological change as a result of the individual's own action, not as a result of his social or institutional context. It is an "action-affects-beliefs" hypothesis: the revolutionary action will change the personalities and belief systems of the revolutionaries. This hypothesis, which is stated with different emphasis by Sartre and Sorel, is related to certain social psychological theories that emphasize the effect of action in changing attitudes (see Festinger, 1962). A second element in this hypothesis is identical to that of the achievement-orientation theorists discussed earlier; these changed personalities will then constitute a human capital that can be transformed into economic productivity and social change.

Some of the "revolutionary" theorists include an additional element in their theories, logically unrelated to the hypothesis of a psychological transformation: that the revolutionary ideology include a total commitment of the individual to the collectivity. A total submission of the individual will in the collectivity is essential to this theory of social change, so that the collectivity becomes a single-minded instrument of change. This principle implies the abdication of any right to hold diverse views, either about goals or about means, and the consequent transformation of the revolutionary group into a single force that can be directed at the enemy. The extent of this ideological directive is well illustrated by a recent attack in China upon President Liu Shao-chi by the Maoists. Liu had written that "As Communist party members shoulder the unprecedentedly 'great office' of changing the world, it is all the more necessary for them to go through such steeling and self-cultivation in revolutionary struggle." This statement reflects fully the psychological transformation in the revolutionary theorists' work, but it is now seen as too individualistic. It has been interpreted by Maoists to mean that one should "suffer a little to gain a lot", and seen as a perversion of Mao's teaching that one must be totally selfless and "be the first to suffer and the last to enjoy". (Reported in the New York Times, March 3, 1967, p. 8.)

This theory of social change constitutes a sharp contrast with the theory of social change which depends upon the Protestant Ethic or individualistic achievement. It is a peculiar combination of individual responsibility and collective authority. The two theories begin together, in that they imply a transformation in values or personality of individuals (the one through religious beliefs or childhood socialization, and the other through participation in a revolutionary struggle), and in both this transformation includes the belief that individual effort can have great effects on one's fate and on the world. This transformation can be an enormous one, because the social structure in which economically depressed populations have often subsisted are feudal and traditional structures with ascribed status, which inculcate the belief in a static order rather than change, and a belief that one could not and should not by his own efforts change his position in life. These conditions in the United States have been most closely approximated in the rural South, which has been most economically static and closest to a feudal order in its social structure. It is under these conditions that, until recently, the large majority of Negroes in the United States lived.

Viewed in a slightly different way, these theories all impose on the individual a powerful and unchallengeable norm to work. In the theories based on family socialization, the norm is internalized in family training. In the theories based on religious ideology, the norm is imposed by the religious belief. In the theories based on revolution, the norm is imposed by the demands of the revolutionary struggle, and enforced by the revolutionary group.

Beyond their psychological core, the achievement theory diverges sharply from the revolutionary theory. The first is wholly individualistic, the second wholly collective in orientation. The first focusses on the free individual, able to respond to opportunity without regard for obligations or ties to others, able to migrate to cities or to new jobs. The absence of such individualism is often used to account for lack of economic development in primitive societies. Thus in a discussion of the development of craftmen's guilds in Yoruba, Lloyd (1963) says, "The guild laws do much to restrict competition between members; the Yoruba feels that it is immoral to prevent another man from earning a living in the way that he pleases. Finally, tribal social life, with its polygamy, feasts, and costly funerals, does much to prevent capital accumulation. Tribal values thus seem to be primarily responsible for the lack of development within the guilds." This proposition is typical of those that ascribe the absence of social change to values that inhibit the individualistic response to opportunity. This theory emphasizes as well a freedom from constraints by fellow-workers to limit work (Max Weber cites in the Protestant Ethic the experience of Methodist workers, embracing the new ideology, having their tools broken by fellow-workers for working too hard and producing too much.)

The other theory is wholly collective, denying the individual member of the revolutionary effort any freedom of direction. It emphasizes selflessness, the strength in unity, the necessity to "stand together or fall separately", the enormous power that a single-minded collective body exhibits. Thus these two theories share a common element of individual psychology and are diametrically opposed in their social psychological premises.

Another way of looking at the similarities and differences between these theories of social change or approaches to change is to say that they both depend upon the disciplined effort of individuals as the essential resource that produces change. For the first, the market system, with its possibilities of individual mobility through individual effort, acts as the mechanism to induce this self-discipline and effort. The second depends upon collective identity, and the existence of a collective enemy to overcome, as the source of self-discipline and effort. This second approach to change tends to arise when the market system has broken down for an identifiable group, thus providing the basis for such collective identity. It appears as well to have an inherent instability, because of the special conditions necessary to maintain the collective identity.*

It is true that these two theories have often been applied to different situations of social change. The Protestant Ethic or individual achievement theories have been more often applied to social change within social structures that have been most open, most characterized by a division of labor, least characterized by a fixed hierarchical order in society. The collective force theories have more often been applied to social structures closer to a fixed hierarchical order. Nevertheless, there are large areas of overlap: the collective force thesis has been applied to systems with an advanced division of labor - though its notable successes have been in the hierarchically-organized peasant societies. Similarly, the individual-achievement thesis has been applied to the whole range of social systems, though its greatest successes have been in the least hierarchically organized, most open societies.

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* A very reasonable interpretation of the activities of the Red Guards in China is the attempt by Mao Tse-Tung to re-create the collective identity which was earlier created by the revolution itself.

This partial consistency of theories and social structures is reasonable, but it should not lead to a false sense of closure. For this dialectic, or one directly analogous to it, arises in all phases of Negro action. The problem at a personal level confronts every middle-class Negro: should he strengthen his individualism, discard all past associations, make white friends when he has the opportunity, and let the social change for Negroes be the aggregate change due to achievements of himself and others? Or should he bind himself to the Negro community, a part of a single-minded collectivity, advancing only as it advances? The only ambitious Negroes for whom this question does not arise are the leaders of the Negro movement, for their personal achievements, including sometimes great status and power, arise only through the collective achievements of Negroes as a group. (However, for many of these leaders, the question may well have arisen in the past, with their current careers determined by the answer they gave).

This is the question as it confronts individual Negroes. A modified version of the question confronts the collective Negro movement as well: whether to take collective action leading as quickly as possible to a dismemberment of the collectivity through integration, or to take collective action leading to a strengthened collective identity and a continued collectivity with increased power. The first strategy characterizes most groups in the Negro movement, and is perhaps best represented by the NAACP. The second strategy characterizes, at the extreme, the Black Muslims and Black Nationalists, and some youth groups such as SNCC. It should be noted that among all the non-English white national groups in North America, the only one whose leaders have often pursued the second strategy is French Canadians, particularly in Quebec. Except for French Canadians, change has occurred through individual achievement and individual assimilation into the larger society.

A similar question confronts the larger society as a collectivity: which goal on the part of Negroes is most beneficial to the society? Which aim should be facilitated? The answer in this case is quite clear: the first goal, of individual achievement, destruction of collective identity, and total integration into the society is always the society's desired goal. (The insistence on maintaining a strong collective identity is one reason that Jews have always constituted such a thorn in the flesh to governments.)

From the point of view of the most efficient reduction of current Negro deficits, this question in modified form also arises. The question here is not ultimate goals, but means. Taking the goals as both the erasing of the deficits described earlier and the ultimate goal of the society as a collectivity, total integration, the answer about means is not so clear. For example, the increase in collective identity of Negroes that has been partly responsible for the Negro movement has been a major asset both in reducing Negro deficits and in establishing the conditions for integration. Yet further increase in this collective identity has led to an ideology of separation, of anti-integration and black racism.

The answer must therefore be complex, differing according to the type of deficit attacked and the stage in erasing these deficits that has been reached. For example, collective action appears to have been an extremely powerful asset in reducing the deficit in freedom of social action, but a less important asset in increasing the economic power of Negroes.

4. Legal and legislative resources

Certain theories of social change in the direction of economic development stand at the opposite pole from those theories that give personal qualities the primary place in social change. They can be well exemplified by an analysis that Berle and Means (1932) and Commons (1924, 1950) have used to account for the growth of the modern corporation in the United States. The argument is somewhat as follows. The owners of a company are concerned with the rate of profit on the investment, that is, the rate of return in dividends on the market value of stock. Managers of a company are concerned first with total profit, the difference between expenditures and income, and beyond that, with expansion of the resources under their control. Thus a corporation in which the policies are closely controlled by the owners will tend to make larger profit yields on capital investment, but smaller total profits, and will less likely reinvest profits or borrow for capital expansion than will a corporation in which managers are free from control by the owners.

The joint-stock corporation, with ownership dispersed among many investors, provided an organization where managers were relatively free from control by owners. In addition, incorporation of such firms is done in the United States by states, not by the federal government. During the growth of capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, states competed with one another to obtain the incorporation of firms, and since the managers had most control over the place of incorporation, they were able to select a state which allowed a corporate structure giving them most freedom from owners. This freedom included the use of proxy voting, increased discretion by directors in management, the change from unanimous to majority stockholder's votes, the issuance of stock warrants and non-voting stock, the freedom to enter into new kinds of business, and the freedom to amend the charter itself by majority vote. The consequence of this was the existence of a corporation governed by those whose principal aim was growth and whose policies were designed to maximize growth, regardless of its effect in depressing the profit yield on investment.

This example is not of direct applicability to the present situation; it is useful for the contrast it implies to the "personal quality" theories. It proposes that change, growth, or development is due to a particular organizational structure (the competitive structure among states, and the subsequent autonomy of corporation managers in use of corporate resources). Implicitly, it is assumed that men appropriate to the role will come to occupy it, given the distribution of personalities in society, and that the crucial element is the organizational, or ultimately the legal structure, in creating roles that generate a given motivation. It attributes the rise in capitalism in the United States to the appropriate institutional structure, while Weber attributed it to an appropriate psychological structure of individuals.

How are theories of this sort different from the theory behind much civil rights activity: that if the white community's barriers to opportunity for Negroes are removed, Negroes will seize the opportunity and thus overcome the economic, political, or social deficit? The similarity, of course, lies in the implicit assumption that the principal barrier to social change is the absence of the appropriate roles, or to use recent sociological terms, the absence of an appropriate opportunity structure. In part, the difference between the theories is one of numbers: the corporate-growth theories imply that there exist at least a few men in society who will pursue the goals relevant to the role; the latter theory implies that a large number of Negroes will be able to fill adequately a new set of roles that are opened up to them. In part, the latter theories imply an additional strong condition: that since Negroes must compete for these newly-open roles with whites, they can effectively do so, despite the other deficits they hold. Obviously, this is a very strong assumption that few persons would make; and it is an assumption not made by the former theory.

Thus it is evident that theories which disregard individual personal qualities differ in their assumptions about the supply of implicitly-required qualities. Some make only very weak assumptions about this supply, while others make very strong assumptions.

The most prevalent theory in the area of race relations that does not depend on personal resources is a generalization of the Berle-Means and Commons theory of corporate growth. In that theory, the legal statutes, which themselves derived from a particular political competition among states, were responsible for the structure of control of the corporation, and thereby its growth. Generalized, the theory is that social change can be effectively brought about through legal statutes aimed at prohibiting certain actions, enforcing others, or allowing still others. The Supreme Court decision on school desegregation of 1954, and statutes in the civil rights act of 1964 prohibiting discrimination of various sorts are examples of actions guided by such theory. This theoretical position is widely held by lawyers, who see it as the principal mechanism for change. In this theory, the arena of social action is the court, and any advocate of social change implements his advocacy by obtaining court rulings. A theory of slightly differing content is held by some legislators, who see the same process, though the principal arena of social action is the legislature, and social change is implemented by change in the law.

The evidence of this theory is quite mixed. In certain cases, legal action has created great social change. For example, the National Labor Relations Act in 1935 changed the terms on which management and labor could legally negotiate, giving legality to certain actions of labor that it had previously not had. The formal power provided by this act did result in more favorable negotiations for unions, and was followed by large increases in the numerical size of unions.

On the other hand, the Supreme Court school desegregation decision had practically no direct effect on school desegregation in states of the deep south: ten years after the decision, less than 1% of all Negroes in these states were attending school with whites, and in some states the percentage was zero. Its only direct effect on desegregation of schools was in border states. It is possible, of course, that this decision comes to have an ultimate effect through indirect means, such as by changing the expectations and thus the demands of Negroes and sympathetic whites, which then create the political power necessary for enforcement of the decision. But if this is so, then the importance of the legal action as the source of change is far less than its protagonists allege, because it is first of all itself in part determined by social conditions, and second, depends for its effects upon the presence of a variety of additional factors.

Knowledge about the conditions under which a change in the law will have greater or lesser effects is very weak. Certain obvious points can be stated, however. First of all, if the agent to carry out the action is under direct control of the policy-makers, the action will occur. For example, Britain is undergoing a currency change, to a decimal standard. There is great controversy over the details of the change. But once the law is passed, it will be implemented, merely because its implementation lies wholly in the hands of a bureaucracy under the control of the government. Similarly, if the U.S. school system were a national one instead of a set of local ones, with each superintendent removable by the national government, the Supreme Court decision would have been implemented immediately. This is easily seen by comparing the school systems on military bases, which are responsible directly to the national government. These schools did immediately desegregate.

Thus a general principle can be stated: the more nearly a legal action requires implementation by a set of actors who owe no responsibility, direct or indirect, to the lawmakers, the less likely will the action have an effect.

But even if we assume a lack of direct responsibility to the lawmakers, a situation may be distinguished in which legal action may be expected to have rather strong and immediate effects. This is the situation in which implementation of the legal action involves at least one party in whose interest it lies, and who is prepared to implement it. In this case, the legislation places a weapon in the hands of one party to a conflict, who is prepared to use it. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 was like this. The law redefined the rules under which collective bargaining could take place, giving more weapons to labor than it currently had. The law was effective because the interested party, labor, was already well enough organized and prepared to take advantage of these new conditions. Similarly, civil rights legislation which allows persons with a discrimination complaint against a place of business can be highly effective when Negroes are prepared to press complaints - but not unless they are so prepared. In a differentiated urban environment, social pressure to prevent such complaints can only be used with difficulty, and thus a Negro is free to press a charge;

in closely knit rural communities, this is seldom so. Also, in some contexts there exists the organizational skill and resources to effectively press the charge, in other contexts, there does not. As a consequence, the effectiveness of such a law will vary greatly from one locale to another, merely because in one locale, it places a weapon in the hands of the parties prepared to use it, while in another, no one is prepared to use the new weapon.

Apart from these two principles about the agents of implementation of a legal action, there are certain legal actions that create an immediate social change. One of the most important of these is the situation in which one person loses if he changes alone, but no one loses if all change. This may be termed the "innovator loss" situation. The best example of this in recent legislation is laws against discrimination in places of business that serve the public, such as restaurants, or commercial apartments. Without a law, restaurant owners may not individually desegregate, because if any one does, he feels that he stands to lose some of his white customers to other restaurants. But if all do, then this will not occur, except where attitudes of white customers are very intransigent. The customer knows that Negroes are admitted in all restaurants, and thus cannot escape by shifting his patronage. Under such conditions, the peculiar paradox may arise, as it has in some localities, in which no single businessman will admit Negroes, yet the association made up of the same businessmen favors legislation prohibiting discrimination in their places of business. This kind of paradox can be expected to hold when there is a situation of innovator loss; and when such a paradox arises, legislation ordinarily has a quick and permanent effect.

On the other hand, if customers are very prejudiced, there will probably come to exist certain ways around the law: the formation of private restaurant clubs that exclude Negroes from membership, the use of normative constraints by customers determined to keep a place of business all white, and the flight of whites from restaurants in which Negroes have gained a stable foothold, thus encouraging a further increase in Negro patronage.

This example indicates that even given a particular structure of implementation, the innovator loss situation in this case, a legal action may or may not have an effect. In this case, implementation depends not only on the owners, who face no loss if all integrate, but also on the customers, whose attitudes may be strong enough to lead to countering action.

There is a surprising number of situations in race relations that involve innovator loss. This arises because much discriminatory behavior arises not directly through prejudice, but through fear of a prejudiced reaction on the part of another with whom one wants to maintain good relations. For example, real estate salesmen, who show a high amount of discriminatory behavior, do so not because of an intrinsically high amount of prejudice, but because of a belief that they would lose business from other customers if they did not discriminate. Similarly, a girl may refuse to date a Negro boy, not because of prejudice, but because she fears that she may lose dates from other boys, and be excluded from social occasions by other boys. The principal difference between these two cases is that the latter is not a situation for legal action though real estate selling might be; yet in the case of dating, just as in the case of real estate selling, the fear of others'reactions prevents the individual from acting freely in accord with his own desires.

In certain cases of this sort, the intent of a law may be not to compel, but to release individuals from an informally imposed compulsion. Yet the unfortunate character of such situations is that freedom from social compulsion imposed by others' prejudice often can arise only by an opposing compulsion. Just as the social compulsion does not allow the individual the freedom to act in a non-discriminatory way, the legal compulsion does not allow the freedom to act in a discriminatory way. If this were not so, then such remedies could be applied in many instances, where individual freedom from social constraint is desirable, but not if it is to be immediately subject to legal compulsion in the opposite direction.

These examples suggest the general way in which legal power should be seen. Its effectiveness is not independent of other conditions, but depends greatly upon them. Yet this has seldom been recognized: the advocates of legal action assume that it is automatically effective; the opponents assume that "every action produces an equal and opposite action", and that the system will adjust so as to maintain its equilibrium and prevent any change. The matter is in fact much more complex, and is amenable to careful investigation, which can show the conditions in which the assets of legal or legislative power have a high convertibility toward erasing deficits in other areas.

5. Economic resources

Theories of social change as applied to underdeveloped countries sometimes take economic resources as a principal independent variable in social change. The greatest economic determinism is the notion of an economic "take-off" point as propounded by Rostow (1961). In this approach, only economic factors are important, and rapid economic growth occurs only after a certain "critical mass" of economic organization is reached.

Similar assumptions are behind the idea of creating economic development through the investment of foreign capital. The general thesis is that underdeveloped countries suffer a deficiency of economic resources with which they can create the means for production. The ideas are of course considerably more complex than this simple view, but at this superficial level, the evidence is quite mixed. In some countries, like Puerto Rico, Mexico, Israel and postwar Europe, there is strong positive evidence of the effect of external capital in reducing social deficits. In others, such as India, Egypt, Ghana and numerous other countries of Africa, Asia and South America, the evidence is just as strongly negative. The external capital provided to Western Europe through the Marshall Plan after World War II was highly effective in fostering massive social and economic change in Western Europe. Economic aid with similar purpose in Asia, Africa and South America has usually been ineffective in producing change; even when accompanied by technical assistance far more extensive than that provided under the Marshall Plan. It seems clear even at this superficial level that the efficacy of economic resources from the outside depends very greatly upon other factors in the society. There are enough cases of three types to allow a definite conclusion: type 1) cases in which social and economic change occurred even without external economic resources; type 2) cases in which change occurred in the presence of external economic resources, but not without it; and type 3) cases in which change did not occur even in the presence of external economic resources. From these cases, it is clear that for societies as wholes, external economic resources are neither necessary nor sufficient for change that reduces social deficits, but can aid in bringing about change if "other conditions" are present. This of course does not carry matters very far, but does suggest a simple two-factor conception of change at the most superficial level: a given system of personal, social, and economic organization has the capacity to convert a unit of economic resources into x units of output per unit time.* If there are c units of economic capital, then the output per unit time, which determines economic growth, is xc. In some systems, the addition of external capital, c', will lead to rapid increase in growth because the conversion capacity of the system is great, and the capital is low. The countries of Western Europe were in this situation and thus made remarkable gains in only four years of Marshall Plan Aid. In other systems, it is this conversion capacity itself that is deficient, and the addition of external capital will have little effect on growth. This way of looking at change in a system or a product of economic resources and the system's conversion potential is little more than a formalization of common sense; but it is common sense that has often been missing from foreign aid programs; and it does sensitize one to the importance of both elements, and the fact that the absence of growth may be due to the absence of one or the other or both.**

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* If we think of economic production as consisting of a sequence of stages from raw materials to final product, and each of these stages requiring a certain mode of industrial organization or productive potential, then x_i is the productive potential of a given stage, and the output per unit time is the product of n + 1 factors: $x_1 x_2 \dots x_n c$. This provides a more appropriate sense of the complexity of the problem than does a simple product xc of productive potential and capital. It indicates also that even the introduction of technical assistance to increase x_n and x_{n-1} along with capital resources will not affect productivity if productive potential at other stages, x_1 or x_2 is absent. Even more, if an element of productive potential is introduced from outside in the form of technical and organizational skills, without providing a means to subsequently generate it internally, its subsequent withdrawal will leave the country as unproductive as at the beginning.

** For a further discussion of this problem, see Barbara Ward (1966) and P.T. Bauer (1966). Bauer goes so far as to argue that foreign governmental aid to underdeveloped countries is almost never of value to the recipient, and often harmful.

The reduction of deficits of groups within a society through economic resources involves several different kinds of social policy, with different theoretical assumptions underlying them. Three somewhat different sets of assumptions can be identified by rough description of three policies as those that provide jobs, those that provide money, and those that provide goods and services. In the normal economy of the household, an outside job brings money income which is used to buy goods and services, which in turn sustain and improve that labor. That is, productive labor is an asset converted into money which is converted into goods and services, which provide the sustenance for further productive labor. In a household that is not economically self-sufficient, additional inputs must be made at one of the three points in this cycle: jobs, money or goods and services. It is the lack of goods and services that constitute the directly experienced economic deficit for certain households, but different policies have aimed not only at supplying these directly, but at providing either jobs or money.

In this chain of resources, it is useful to identify several different hypotheses implied by policies that provide inputs at each point. First, however, there must be a division between policies designed to reconstitute a self-sufficient cycle, the household becoming independent of external inputs, and policies designed to provide permanent continued inputs of resources to the cycle. The latter policies envision a permanently dependent set of households supported by public funds; the former envision a final state in which all households are independent of external support.

a. Permanent dependency

In the case of a permanent dependent population, the appropriate policy obviously depends upon what resources in this cycle are seen as the ultimate resource satisfying primary needs. Ordinarily, this is seen as goods and services themselves, so that direct provision of those goods and services that constitute the necessities of life automatically overcomes this deficit. Sometimes, however, the primary needs are seen to include the autonomy to consume what one wishes, the autonomy to make one's own consumer choice. For example, Dwight McDonald (1964) argues this in expressing the belief that in an affluent society, the standards of support for the poor ought also to be affluent enough to allow expenditures on desired non-essentials. McDonald's general view appears to be one of accepting permanent dependence of a segment of the population. There are also many policies of governments that provide direct money inputs to the household with no aim of recreating a self-sufficient economic unit, but with the idea of permanent dependency: aid to dependent children in the United States, family allowances in France, disability payments under Social Security. Proposals like that of a negative income tax constitute similar devices.

Finally, productive work and the self-respect it entails is sometimes seen to be an ultimately desirable resource. In this case, neither provision of pre-selected goods and services, nor provision of a direct money income, but only jobs themselves, would satisfy the primary needs.

Thus even if one has a conception of a permanently dependent segment of the population as a final state, different beliefs about what constitute primary needs will imply different policies in supplementing the resources of the household economic cycle. Little research on the question of where the input should best occur has been done, for it is difficult to define operationally just what is meant by a primary need, and also, research has often confused the goal of maintaining a dependent population with that of re-creating a self-sufficient household. One comparative measure would be the overall level of satisfaction of persons supported in each of these three ways at equal levels of public cost. Another would be the use of child-rearing as a kind of litmus-paper test: at the same level of expenditure of public resources, which of the sets of families supported in these three ways provide their children with the greatest prsonal resources with which to enter the larger world? The crucial difference between the criteria here, and those under the "temporary support" assumption to be discussed below is that here the criteria do not include the movement toward self-sufficiency, but only the stable level of satisfaction for a given degree of public support. If, for example, goods and services are directly supplied through subsidies to housing, food, and other commodities, does this give as high a level of satisfaction as if the consumer made his own choices? Or if money is directly provided, will this be spent in a way to best increase overall satisfaction, or to satisfy an artificially-created demand and whims of the moment? Or if jobs are provided, either through a greater demand for labor or through sheltered jobs in public works outside the labor market, will there be anyone from the most economically deficient households able to hold even a sheltered job? It is these kinds of questions, even given the goal of permanent dependence, that must arise in assessing the relative virtues of various types of economic inputs to the production-consumption cycle of the household.

One might dismiss this general perspective as envisioning a set of second-class dependent citizens inappropriate to a conception of the good society, except for several points. One is that in some economies, subsidies to workers are designed to support certain industries by allowing direct wages to be low. Housing and food subsidies to those with low incomes, for example, are rather standard partial substitutes in European countries for wages. Such subsidies, used as wage supplements, are not merely support for households, but a subsidy to low-wage labor-intensive industries. The cost of the subsidy must then be compared to other forms of income maintenance, for such income supplements may be an alternative to higher levels of unemployment if the non-competitive industries were forced out of business by higher wages. The question becomes a complicated one for joint study by economists and sociologists, to estimate the total cost to the economy of maintaining non-competitive enterprises, and to balance this against an estimate of the costs of permanent maintenance of non-competitive workers and their households (and any loss in satisfaction due to a permanent dependent status), in an economy where industry is highly competitive and only highly productive workers are employable. For the basic problem is that although non-competitive or subsidized industries may constitute a drain on the economy that is removed when they are forced out of business, non-competitive workers and their households constitute a drain that is not removed unless they can be brought to a level of competitive productivity.

To state the matter differently, a society must accept the idea of a set of partially or totally dependent households either through direct payments or disguised by subsidized non-competitive industries or public works, unless it is able to train non-competitive workers to a level of productivity that allows them to be competitive.

b. Re-creation of self-sufficiency

Policies designed to reconstitute a self-sufficient household by supplying inputs that will be self-liquidating involve research questions of considerably more interest and complexity. To provide jobs that supply money, money that will buy goods and services, or goods and services that will sustain and improve labor each implies assumptions about a point of deficiency in the economic cycle of the household. I will suggest assumptions implicit in each policy, and then turn to research results bearing upon each set of assumptions.

The economic cycle of the household can be conveniently described in terms of four variables, two on the productive side, and two on the consumption side. On the productive side, one variable can be described as a general level of productive potential, and the second as opportunity for its employment. These will be labelled x and c for convenience. On the consumption side is first the amount of money, and second consumer skill in purchasing those goods and services that will augment productive potential. The money and consumer wisdom will be labelled m and w for convenience. Then the normal cycle is one in which the product of x and c generate m; and the product of m and w augments x. If the processes are operating at a level too low for household maintenance, the family is not self-sufficient. In an urban money economy, there is a discontinuity in the relation that does not exist in a rural subsistence economy: if the product of potential and opportunity, xc, is above a given point, the worker holds a job; if below this threshold, he does not. The hypotheses discussed below involve assumptions about deficits in particular ones of these variables.

(1a) Increasing job opportunity through increasing the demand for labor

This policy assumes in the set of relations above that job opportunity c is the one variable whose low level prevents functioning of the cycle. If this opportunity is increased, then all the other variables are sufficiently high to create a self-sustaining household (and by increasing the level of economic demand, to maintain high levels of c). In this view, the only deficit is a deficit of the economic system, which determines the level of c.

Evidence on this assumption in the recent United States context is discussed in detail by Killingsworth (1967). In brief, the results of economic expansion since 1963 (first through a tax cut designed to stimulate demand and increase opportunity, c, and then through high demand created by the Vietnamese war) show that although Negro unemployment decreased, it remained in the same ratio to white unemployment - twice as high - and Negro teen-age unemployment remained in its same relative position - over six times overall white unemployment. Unemployment in Negro ghettoes appears not to have decreased at all, but perhaps to have increased. Thus while increasing c appears to have some effect in reconstituting the cycle of economic self-sufficiency (using continued employment as a rough indicator of economic self-sufficiency), its effect appears to be least for those groups that are least self-sufficient, in this case, ghetto Negroes. Given the continued problems of economic deficits of Negroes at high levels of overall economic activity in the United States, it is clear that for many Negroes, the economic cycle of the household is defective at other points that are not affected by increasing job opportunity.

There is one body of theory and research that regards the level of job opportunity as a determinant of resources quite outside this economic cycle, in particular, of stable personal characteristics. This is the thesis that regards delinquency and crime as principally a product of blocked opportunity (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Evidence for and against this thesis occurs in the delinquency literature; it cannot be regarded as a well-confirmed thesis.

A corollary to this thesis, that the experience of holding a job will increase personal resources, is a relation of similar plausibility but unknown importance. The thesis at its strongest would state that experience in full-time occupations is the most important element in increasing productive potential.

Examination of work histories, even if these histories contain only minimal information (such as Social Security records) could be valuable in testing this thesis. Such examination would show how the probability of becoming unemployed is affected by the length of continuous employment, controlling for income, or by age of entry into full-time employment, controlling for income. Obviously, if this effect is a great one, policies designed to increase opportunity, c, would have special benefit, for they act to increase x as well, and thus allow self-sustenance even if the level of opportunity reduces.

(1b) Increasing job opportunity through protected enterprises

To increase job opportunity, c, through economically protected enterprises (public works or subsidized industry) will obviously maintain the household cycle so long as the subsidy is maintained, for those persons who can hold the sheltered job. But if it is to be used to reconstitute economic self-sufficiency, this implies the stronger hypotheses discussed above: that occupational experience increases personal resources enough so that the subsidy is self-liquidating; or conversely, that unemployment destroys personal resources. As indicated above, research on these questions would have quite important policy implications.

. Direct inputs of money to the family

As indicated earlier, many policies for money supplements to the family are designed as permanent supplements. Even so, if there are effects of these supplements on other resources which make the household more or less self-sufficient, these supplements could be temporary and self-liquidating. The literature indicates that such ideas are certainly held by some persons. Fleisher, examining statistical correlations, shows a relation between income and family resources, and interprets these as effects of income: "A $ 500 increase in family income will cause a decline in the number of separated or divorced women over 14 by about 2.7 per 1000." Such statements certainly over-interpret the data; but the statistical relationships exist, and research is necessary to determine the directions of cause and effect. (see Fleisher, 1965).

Some persons go even further than Fleisher. For example, McDonald (1964) and others argue that a very high level of income support, far above the poverty line, would establish the levels of work motivation and consumer wisdom (i.e., affecting both x and w) necessary for economic self-sufficiency. This is probably nonsense; but it is very likely possible to test it through careful observation of selected populations who have experienced large windfalls (e.g., American Indians made wealthy by natural resources on their reservations). There does appear to be some evidence against the converse of the thesis: that income loss will destroy motivation and the personal resources necessary for self-sufficiency. The earlier cited study of Jackson and Marsden, for example, of 88 working-class children who went into the sixth form of grammar school in England, the last secondary step toward higher education, found that few of them were truly working class. Nearly all were from middle class families who for a generation had suffered reverses and fallen into working class occupations and income. The economic reverse suffered by these families had left them still far better equipped to guide their children into academic streams of education than were the truly working class families. From a similar perspective Hagstrom (1964) shows that families with self-sufficient household economies exist at nearly all levels of income, and that those with economic dependency are also found over a wide range of income. He suggests that the lack of money income can thus hardly be used as an explanation for economic dependency, Certainly it is the case that variations in the degree of wisom in consumption by different households can affect the product m w and thus the productive potential just as much as can variations in money income.

The possible effects of money inputs to the family are suggested by controversies over the specific way the input is made. For example, Moynihan (1966) argues that the payment to mothers of aid for dependent children destroys family cohesion because it is conditional upon the absence of a male potential wage-earner in the household. It further weakens, Moynihan suggests, the already weak position of the male in the matriarchal family of the Negro. Alvin Schorr examines more generally the possible differential effects of different types of money inputs into the household (1967). Obviously, it becomes important to learn these effects if the money input is to have effects beyond that of a permanent income supplement.* The question of whether money input will reduce the economic dependency deficit better than job opportunity or goods and services can only be answered if these details of its effects are known.

3. Inputs of goods and services to the family

Goods and services as inputs to overcome deficits of the household economy may cover a wide range. Most apparent are subsidies to housing and food, both of which are more widespread in Europe than in the United States. But also included in this are other services which attempt directly to affect the productivity of the household: education, health services, job training programs, child care centers, and a variety of activities of community service agencies.

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* Even, of course, if it is conceived as a permanent supplement, it is important to know the efficiency with which it satisfies wants under different methods of input. Much of the effort of economists working in this area is directed to this question.

As indicated above, some goods-and-services inputs to the household are designed only to serve as permanent external supply of resources, and their value depends on their efficiency in satisfying primary needs. But their merits as resources that help overcome other deficits to produce a self-sufficient household is the point in question here. For this, the evidence differs according to the kind of good or service provided. There appears to be a considerable amount of evidence now that housing is a resource that has little effect in overcoming other deficits, although plausible arguments for its effects (see, for example, Schorr, 1963) have been given by many authors. Optimistic expectations that "slum clearance" and public housing would reduce crime, delinquency, and other deficits, have been completely unfulfilled. Even the effect on health cannot be detected. Wilner, in a carefully controlled study in Baltimore, finds little if any effect of improved housing on health (1962). Glazer summarizes the evidence of the lack of effect of this resource on other social deficits (1960).

Health services would appear to constitute, prima facie, a resource that overcomes other deficits, since persons in ill health frequently cannot be self-sufficient. For example, Brown (1966) examines occupational histories of persons with mental illness and finds a decline in occupational status following first admission to a mental hospital. Fuchs (1966) citing this and other evidence, suggests that the effects of health on productivity and self-sufficiency, over an individual's occupational career, is an important one.

Given this evidence that health resources are important in overcoming or preventing economic deficits, one can go further and ask whether ill-health and disease constitute an important deficit for Negroes, and for non-self-sufficient households in particular. There seems to be little evidence that this is so, except in extreme situations (for example, isolated areas in the rural South). Kadushin (1964), reviews a number of studies which show little or no greater likelihood of becoming or staying ill among those at low economic levels than among those at high levels. Rein (1967b) in a study of British medical services, shows that these services are utilized as fully by those at very low economic levels as by those at higher levels.

Thus despite the fact that health services are - in contrast to housing - a resource that does overcome or prevent economic deficits, there does not appear to be a widespread deficiency in these services which, if rectified, would have a strong indirect effect on economic resources.

There is one broad class of services designed specifically to increase the productive potential of the individual or household. These are disparate types of services including public education as a way of making the young self-sufficient and productive, child day care centers that allow mothers to hold a job, and job-training programs for youth or for unemployed. Little can be said about the efficiency of such services in general for creation of resources; I will mention only evidence concerning education. A massive U.S. Office of Education survey (1966) shows that in the urban North, Negroes at the end of high school are in about the same relative position with regard to whites as at the start of the first grade, in verbal and mathematical skills : about 85 per cent of the Negroes are below the average achievement of whites, about 15 per cent of Negroes (and 50 per cent of whites) above this average. Thus Negroes end school with the same relative deficits that their family and neighborhood conditions have imposed upon them by age 6. In the rural South, the relative deficit increases from 1 to 1½ standard deviations - only about 7 per cent of Negroes are above the white average.

These statistics make it clear that the system of public education, regarded as a resource that can overcome deficits which arise in the family and community, does not do so for Negro children on the whole, but leaves them with either the same or a greater relative deficit in scholastic achievement than the one with which they began. The situation is the opposite to that of health services: Health services are effective in overcoming illness, and appear to reduce economic deficits deriving from ill health; but illness is found little or no more often among low economic groups than high. Educational services appear to be relatively ineffective in overcoming scholastic deficits, and these deficits relative to middle class whites are quite great for lower class Negroes.

Altogether, the question of convertibility of economic resources to other resources for deprived groups within a society is a varied and complex one, with no single answer. In the cycle of economic production and consumption of the home, there are three points at which economic resources can be added, and several ways they can be added at each of these points. Their convertibility depends on where and how they are added, as well as to existing resources of the non-self-sufficient households (e.g., their productive potential, their wisdom in consumption, the resources of the family in child socialization). The answers to these questions are precisely those necessary for designing welfare policies that will most efficiently create resources that make the individual and family self-sustaining. Yet the evidence, as well as analogous data from developing countries, suggests that creation of self-sufficiency through economic inputs may have quite limited possibilities in the absence of other changes.

6. Political resources

The convertibility of political assets to assets of other kinds depends greatly upon the kind of political asset held. The individual vote in an election is different from the organization of votes to support or defeat a candidate, which is still different from organized collective action such as used in the civil rights movement. Perhaps it is most useful to divide the political assets held by Negroes with two classes: 1) assets that are used in the formal political processes: the vote in elections, Negro representatives in legislatures and in other political office; and 2) assets that are used outside the electoral process, usually in direct action which presses demands for change. It is the latter which have been most effectively used by Negroes since 1960. Both, however, are important resources, and both have increased greatly in recent years. I will examine them separately labelling the first "electoral politics" and the second "action politics". In the latter I will include not only direct action outside legal channels, but also those actions which use the courts as a mechanism for effecting change. Both the extra-legal direct action and the legal procedures in the courts require the organization and initiation of action, and in this both stand in contrast to the act of voting in an election which is an individual response of an institutionalized nature.

In neither the case of electoral political resources or action political resources will I examine the convertibility of legislative or legal action into resources of other kinds; that question has been discussed in the preceding section. I will instead examine the prior step: the convertibility of political resources - political power of either of these two types - into government action.

4. Electoral resources

The convertibility of the vote into government actions is of course not a simple matter, because the government action depends on the net result of many votes, and Negroes are in a small minority in the United States. Yet a number of important points can be stated, because that vote has more or less power in different situations.

Given a simple majority decision rule in collective choices or for that matter, any decisions rule that requires between about 25% and 75% of the vote cast in order to take action, the effective electoral power of a minority group in a democracy depends upon its geographic distribution. This is less so in a system of proportional representation in the election of legislatures, for in a system of pure proportional representation, the total country is in effect one large constituency. But proportional representation does not exist in most elections in the United States, so that geographical distribution is very important in a minority's power. The principal point is that power increases with concentration, for only with concentration will the minority group be in a majority in certain constituencies, and able to control the nomination and election of legislators.

In the move from the South to the urban North, Negroes have moved toward greater geographical concentration. Even though Negroes have constituted majorities in some counties and even in some congressional districts in the South, they have never been so highly concentrated that whites, aided by disenfranchising techniques, could not outvote them. In the central cities of the North, however, Negro concentration has reached in some areas the point of absolute control of Congressional districts. In many cities it has reached the point of absolute control of city councilmanic districts, and in some of the largest cities, it will soon reach a majority of the total city electorate.

The functioning of the U.S. Congress allows minority group representation, once it reaches the point of electing a representative, a rather high degree of power. A case in point is the power of Adam Clayton Powell, both before and after his unseating in Congress, and his subsequent reelection by his constituency. A Parliamentary system with strict party discipline, as in Britain, greatly reduces such minority and constituency power.

The general point then, is that the convertibility of a minority group votes into political power that can effect legislation depends, in the American political system, greatly upon geographical concentration. This can be counted an important defect of a democratic system, for even apart from the techniques used to disenfranchise Negroes in the South, it has prevented Negro demands from being effectively represented in governmental decision-making bodies. However, once reaching legislative bodies, a minority group's interest does have important power in the U.S. governmental system. These two points together make especially important, in the estimation of future Negro political power through the vote, the projection of demographic and ecological trends.

b. Resources for action politics

One of the major changes from the 1950's to the 1960's in the set of assets and deficits held by Negroes is the development of extensive devices for exerting demands upon government outside the electoral channels of politics. These have taken numerous forms, ranging from court cases to challenge the legality of school districting patterns to actions which violate the law. They include non-violent action and violent action, demonstrations aimed at changing laws regarded as inequitous, and demonstrations aimed at exerting a legally protected right.

All these actions have in common the element of collective organization, and many include as well mobilization of the populace. One of their effects may be to create personal resources in the way described earlier, but the explicit aim of most of them is to exert political pressure. The community resources of collective solidarity and trust that were discussed earlier, and described as largely missing in Negro communities, have come to exist in the "Negro movement" beyond the community level. Thus the enormous multiplication of resources that such collective cohesion provides has come to exist through this movement.

I will not attempt to be comprehensive in discussion of these forms of political action, but will discuss only two attributes: first, the use of non-violence as a technique, and second, the development of the activities described as "black power".

The principle of non-violence has been widely used in the Negro movement. The question I shall raise is when it can be a powerful tool: the conditions under which it is most powerful in gaining one's ends.

Consider a social conflict in which the lines of cleavage are drawn, with each person on one of the two sides. An aggressive action in the conflict will have two kinds of effect upon the defender. The first kind of effect is to destroy, disrupt, and otherwise make ineffective the defender. The second kind of effect will be to unify and intensify the defender's opposition to the aggressor, ordinarily leading to an aggressive response.

Now let us consider an asymmetric conflict situation, with one side the administrative establishment, and the other a conflict group. If the conflict group carries out an aggressive act of civil disobedience, then the administration and behind them the united community, will ordinarily retaliate, the conflict group will in turn be unified by the aggressive response, and respond aggressively in turn, and the battle will be on. However, if the initial act of civil disobedience is not an aggressive one, and if the administration's response is not responded to in turn by aggression but merely by refusal to obey, the second effect of an aggressive action on the administration and general community does not occur. That is, by failing to act aggressively, the conflict group does not unify and intensify the actions of its opponent, the administration. The principal virtue of non-violence as a strategy is that it does not serve the opponent by unifying his force and intensifying his anger, as does an aggressive or violent act.

Given this, what does it imply about the conditions under which non-violence will be a good strategy, and the conditions that make it a bad one? The principal implication is that for a monolithic, undivided, fully unified opposition, non-violence would be a totally ineffective strategy. For an opposition (ordinarily an administrative establishment) which was divided, for a conflict situation in which many persons were uncommitted, and in a situation where the opposition held humanitarian goals, non-violence should be maximally effective. Non-violence depends wholly on separation of the partially committed from the totally committed, and the further pressure of the partially committed on the totally committed to stop the conflict.

Thus several propositions can be derived from this implication. First, the less internally mobilized the opposition, the more effective will non-violence be, and the quicker it will have an effect. Second, the more divergence in strength of commitment between the opposition actors and the potential supporters, the more effective will non-violence be. Third, the larger the uncommitted public, and the more influence it can have on the opposition, the more effective will non-violence be.

A quite different strategy of action from the strategy on non-violent resistance is one which has recently developed under the label of "black power". The term "black power" has widely varying definitions, ranging from those that emphasize violence to those that emphasize retail store ownership by Negroes. Its essential difference from other aspects of Negro political action, however, is its concentration on Negro action in strengthening resources of Negroes. It thus combines the two apparently incongruous aims that have always characterized the Black Muslims: great attention to personal virtues of honesty, effort, achievement; and overcoming the power of whites. It is at one and the same time a self-improvement association, and a revolutionary one.

In many respects, this direction of the movement can hardly be called political, since it is largely directed to producing personal and social changes within the Negro community, to self-improvement and self-help. It is political only in the ultimate sense, at one extreme in the revolutionary directions that those resources, once developed, may be used for, or at a minimum, in the use of these resources for collectively gaining political ends. Some of its advocates are explicitly revolutionary, taking their ideology and strategy from the revolutionary theorists discussed earlier, and by very recent writings emerging from the colonial revolutions (e.g., Fanon, 1961). The general strategy can best be described as the use of the power of collective identity to create both internal changes in personal resources of Negroes, and to overcome the external enemy. As such, it constitutes the concrete realization in the United States of the revolutionary theory of social change discussed earlier.

PART III - ARENAS OF ACTION

Although each of the hypotheses or theories of social change discussed in Part II claims a kind of exclusivity as the only or the principal mechanism of change, it appears quite clear that there are a number of different and important machanisms. Consequently, the task of the theorist at this point is not to select which of the theories is correct, but rather to set up some kind of framework which within any of the processes discussed above can operate. At the extreme, this means nothing more nor less than setting up a thoery of the social system as a whole. However, it is obviously not possible to accomplish this in one great leap, and the integration to be attempted here will be somewhat more modest.

The integration will take two forms: first, an attempt to discern a few principles or themes that differentiate certain theories from others, as a way of summarizing what some of the major differences are; and second, ignoring the temptation to select among these principles a set which shows "the" way to change, an attempt to set up a framework for describing more systematically the conversion of resources of all these types.

One major distinction between different theories is the degree to which they see social change as resulting from actions of the group in question, either as individuals or as a collectivity, or from the conditions within which members of that group must act. These environmental conditions include all kind of conditions ranging from economic resources to freedom of action. In the first case, change is seen as originating from within, in the second, from outside the group in question. This distinction is most fully evident in contrasting the theories described under "personal resources" in Part II with those described under "legal and legislative resources" and "economic resources". Second, within the first of these two classes of theories are those which see the primary actors in the situation as individuals, acting to pursue individual interests, and those which see the primary actors as collectivities, either the community or the political action group.

This suggests, then, that these theories see three primary sources of change: the individual member of the group in question, collective actors made up of members of the group in question, and the environmental conditions within which the action takes place. In Table 1 below, these will be labelled I, C and E respectively.

A second major distinction between different theories of change is the different arenas of action within which the processes of change are seen to occur. These arenas of action, such as occupation, or family, or school, or collective political action, are evident in the discussion of Part II.

In Table 1 below, I will list the various arenas of action discussed in Part II, and under these the theories and hypotheses proposed concerning each, indicating the resources that constitute the primary sources of change and the resources that are, by hypothesis, generated in the change. These resources generated by the process will be indicated by the same three symbols, I, C, and E, as for the sources of change. Under each of these are a wide range of resources: under I are the whole set of personal resources discussed in Parts I and II; under C are cohesion, organization, trust, at a variety of different levels of collectivity; under E are legal actions, legislative actions, economic resources, and freedom of action.

Table I - Summary of theories of change

Arenas of action	Sources of Change	Resultant Changes	Description of theory or policy
Occupation	I	E	achievement - orientation
Occupation	E	E	job opportunity
Family	I, C	I	socialization
Family	E	I, C	family welfare activities
School	E	I	school improvement
Local community	I, C	I, E	community action
Elections	I, E	E	liberal political theory
Legislature	C	E	liberal political theory (legislative political action)
Courts	C	E	court rulings
Collective polit. action	I, C	E	populist political theory (civil rights movement)
Collective polit. action	I, C	I, C, E	revolutionary theory (black power movement)

This table provides a convenient summary of the theories and hypotheses discussed in Part II. The usual practice in sociological theory is to argue or present evidence in favor of one of these, failing to recognize that the social system functions through most or all of these processes, and under different circumstances - that is, different distributions of initial resources - different ones of these processes can assume greater importance. It is likely that the tendency among sociologists to focus on one or the other of these is either because one appears important in the particular situation at hand, or else because of a confusion between theory and action in social change. Action involves choosing among these processes in a particular situation, depending on the resources at hand

and the desired goals, thus involving a narrowing of focus.* But the theory of change should describe the processes independently of any resources that characterize a concrete situation.

Thus the task becomes one of integrating these various conversion processes into a systematic descriptive framework. Two questions naturally arise: the strategic question of how far one should go in the process of integrating these ideas, and the intellectual question of what direction one should go.

In examining the first of these questions, the two extremes are provided by the discussion as presented in Part II, left in the form of Table 1, and at the other extreme, a mathematical model together with explicit operations for the measurement of variables entering into it. Toward this latter extreme are certain models of resource - transformation in economics, usually described as activity analysis or input-output analysis. I will not go nearly so far as these models go, because of the numerous obstacles in the way which would require much more than a short essay to remove; but I will discuss in an appendix some of the characteristics of these economic models in relation to the social transformation processes. The appendix may be regarded as a supplement to this section.

In examining the list of resources and the processes of conversion in Parts I and II, several points become evident that can give some insights about the direction that an integration of ideas can best go. First of all, it seems clear that one can usefully conceive of a system of resources which act, through certain processes, to increase or decrease other resources.

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* However, more sophisticated action, based on a comprehensive theory, would very likely involve strategies that employed a number of the processes. A comparison with input-output analysis in economics is useful: for a given desired profile of final demand, the appropriate allocation of resources will ordinarily make use of all the industries in the system, except those processes which provide a less efficient output of a given resource than others in the system.

Secondly, it appears useful to think of resources acting in a reasonably limited set of arenas of action, or contexts of action, with particular actors involved. In economic analysis, the analogue to these arenas of action is the particular production process, or activity, as it is sometimes called, an activity that is conceptually distinct both from the set of resources that serve as inputs and from the set of resources that are outputs.*

These arenas of action may vary from highly institutionalized ones, such as the school, to highly fluid and instructured ones, such as political protest actions. But in each arena, it appears reasonable to conceive of several kinds of resources that affect the process. There are resources held by the actors in this arena, and resources that characterize the context within which the action takes place. For example, in discussing the effectiveness of legal actions designed to bring about greater freedom of action for Negroes, such as public accommodation laws, it was pointed out that the increase in actual freedom of action depended upon the conjunction of two input resources: the characteristics of the laws themselves, and the presence of active individuals or organizations prepared to make use of it. Neither of these need be considered the primary resource in this situation; it seems rather that the result is a joint product of these two resources.

Interaction between these two kinds of resources can be seen by example. One of these is school desegregation. The school system plans for desegregation approved by the U.S. Office of Education in 1965 were of two types. One was a plan that substituted single districts for dual ones, often in stages to be completed over several years. The second was a "free-choice" plan, in which any student could attend any of two or more schools. The second plan worked differentially well in different areas. In the few areas where it produced substantial integration, the reason appeared to be the organized efforts of Negro parents, aided by civil rights groups, to send their children to previously all-white schools, in spite of physical and sometimes administrative obstacles. Thus overcoming the deficit of racial isolation in these cases required two assets: first, the political asset at the national level, which led to the requirement for integration imposed by the guidelines, and second, the organized initiative of Negroes in the local community. In those communities where the latter asset was not present, the former asset was not effective.

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* In most economic input-output type models, the activity is not distinguished from its single product. Only in Von Neumann's general growth model is this distinction made, in order to allow joint products from a single industry.

A second and similar example occurred several years ago in the opening of the building craft unions in New York to widespread admission of Negroes for apprenticeship. Traditionally, apprenticeships had been held rather closely, and distributed first to relatives of current union members, thus making it difficult for new ethnic groups to enter one of these craft unions. The political assets of Negroes both locally and nationally, together with the ideological asset found in more liberal union leaders, created enough pressure on the local unions to provide an allocation of a large proportion of apprenticeships for Negro applicants. But there were almost no Negro applicants, with the result that the existing economic deficit was not reduced. The missing assets were the absence of community and family resources that would have generated the organized efforts to produce applicants, and the absence of personal resources of knowledge and motivation that would have led to individual response.

However, this conception of two sets of interacting resources, those characterizing the actors and those characterizing the situation, meets with difficulty, as evidenced by the statement above that active individuals or organizations must be prepared to act in the situation. More generally, the effect of social organization in augmenting individual resources has been evident throughout Part II. How then, can it be best introduced into description of the social processes of interest? There appear to be two alternative ways of conceptualizing the role of organizations or collectivities which act as augmenters of individual resources: as actors themselves, that is, as one of the primary components of a social process operating in a given arena of action, with resources consisting of the personal resources of individuals within them and the cohesion, trust, or other attribute of the collective body itself. Or alternatively, the individuals themselves may be seen as the primary actors, with the resources of the collectivity acting as multipliers of the personal resources of these individual actors.

A second complication in this schema is that a given arena of action may well involve two or even more sets of actors, with differing resources and with conflicting or reinforcing goals. The outcome of a protest demonstration depends not only upon the organization and personal resources of the demonstrators, but also the characteristics of the police and the white community or organization who are actual or potential actors in this arena. In some situations, the characteristics of actors other than Negroes in the situation can be taken as constant; but this assumption should be clearly recognized.

It is evident that if we would attempt to go very far toward formalization of the system at the present, a whole variety of obstacles arise, even apart from problems of measurement, which we have not discussed. What is useful in this essay is not to open up such a Pandora's box, but rather to attempt to create some kind of order from the chaos of theoretical ideas described in Part II. It will not help in creating this order to attempt to go too far in devising a single integrated system of ideas.

As a start toward the appropriate integration, I will lay out three kinds of relationships in tables below. The first of these, Table 2, is an indication of what resources appear to interact in affecting the level of operation of activities. Such interaction between two variables means that an increase in either of the variables intensifies the effect of the other: for example, the strength of family cohesion intensifies the effect of parental educational background on children's learning. In effect, the result depends on a new variable, which is the product of the two initial resources. As indicated above, these will consist principally of two kinds of interactions, interactions between resources of the actors in a given arena of action and the opportunity or constraints offered by the action context; and interactions which consist of the intensifying or multiplicative effect of social cohesion or organization in its various forms, and personal resources.

The next table (table 3) shows the resources that are the inputs for, or affect the level of operation of, each arena of action. Thus this table relates the level of operation of each arena of action to the resources which sustain that level. The final table (table 4) shows the resources that are the outputs of or are produced by, each arena of action. Thus the general conceptual scheme is that the resources held by actors, intensified by resources of social organization and by the opportunities which characterize the action-context, determine the level of functioning in each arena of action. Each of the arenas of action then produces as outputs resources of different kinds. In all the tables, some of the resources discussed in Parts I and II are missing, such as the rate of expansion of the economy and the involvement of resourceful whites. A second omission in the tables is any indication of negative "side effects" or reduction of resources of one type through the operation of a given process. For example, the actions of black power organizations have as one consequence the reduction of personal and financial support from whites, and perhaps a reduction in freedom of action as well. Such reduction of resources or creation of deficits is an omission from the tables that should be recognized in their use.

In table 2, the interactions are generally of two different kinds: interaction between actors' resources and the opportunities provided by the situation of action; and intensification by the level of social cohesion. The resources are specified in rather gross categories, so that within each category, the specific interactions depend upon the action-context. For example, an interaction is indicated between "personal resources" and "jobs", which is in fact an interaction between occupational productivity and job opportunity. But since the table is intended principally as a check-list for reference purposes, fine detail is omitted.

Table 2 - Interactions between resources

	Resources											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Personal resources		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	
2 Family cohesion					X	X		X				
3 Community "						X		X	X		X	
4 Pol.movement organization										X	X	
5 Jobs									X			
6 Money												
7 Goods												
8 Services												
9 Freedom of action												
10 Demog. concentration												
11 Legal rules, laws												X
12 Political representation												

In table 2, an "X" in a cell indicates that resources of the two types specified by the row and column appear to interact with the result of a joint effect upon the level of operation of the relevant arena of action.

The next table, given below as Table 3, shows the resource inputs to each arena of action. These resources ordinarily have their effect jointly with other resources as Table 2 indicates; that should be taken as given in reading Table 3. It is also important to remember that these are in some cases heterogeneous classes of resources. For example, "services" include health services, school and child care programs, and on-the-job training programs, each of which occurs in a different arena of action. Equally, some arenas of action are heterogeneous in the variety of processes or activities that occur within them. In one case, the "family", two processes are separated out; but in the family as in other arenas of action, there are processes that are not listed separately.

Table 3 - Input resources to arenas of action

Arenas of action

Input resource	Occupation	Family		School	Local community	Elections	Legislature	courts	Collective Polit.action	
		Socialization	Consumption						civil rights	power
Personal resources	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X
Family cohesion		X	X	X						
Community cohesion		X			X				X	
Pol.movement organization								X	X	X
Jobs	X									
Money			X							
Goods			X							
Services	X	X	X	X						
Freedom of action	X			X	X	X			X	X
Demog. concentration					X	X				
Legal rules, laws, polit. representation					X	X	X	X	X	X

As in Table 2, an "X" in a cell of Table 3 indicates that a given resource serves as an input to the process or activity which occurs in a given arena of action.

In Table 4, the outputs of activities in each arena of action are listed. The table relates arenas of action to the same resources as in Table 3, but these resources are those either demonstrated or hypothesized to result from the given process. In some cases where an "X" is listed in the cell, the output is well demonstrated to exist; in other cases, it is merely claimed or hypothesized, but not proved. No attempt is made to distinguish claims from demonstrated fact, or strong effects from weak ones.

Table 4 - Output resources from arenas of action

Output Resources

Arenas of action	personal resources	family cohesion	community cohesion	polit. org.	jobs	money	goods	services	freedom of action	demog. concen.	legal rules laws	polit. representation
occupation	X	X				X						
family (sociolization	X	X										
family (consumption)							X	X				
School	X											
local community		X	X	X		X	X	X				
elections												X
legislature					X	X	X	X			X	
courts									X		X	
polit.action (civil rights)	X		X	X	X			X	X			
polit.action (power)	X		X	X	X			X				

These tables constitute the limits of the integration of ideas from Part II. If the framework is to be useful in any quantitative way for the study of social change, it will be necessary to specify much more precisely the form of the conversion processes, and in conjunction with this to define operationally the measures of resources and the conversion coefficients in each process. It would be fortunate if the precise form of the model could be taken over from input-output analysis in economics. However, the appendix explores this at some length with rather pessimistic conclusions.

PART IV - RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

If a theory of social change is to justify its existence, it must contain within it some point or points at which knowledge can affect action which in turn affects the course of social change. One suspects this is implicit even in those theories that posit deterministic forces of change. But if the theory is to be complete, or even if it is to be useful, these points in which knowledge can effect the course of change should be incorporated within the theory, and not left outside. Another way of putting this is to say that a theory of intentional social change must, to be complete, show how knowledge itself is incorporated into the processes of change. The agents who use the knowledge provided by the theory are themselves part of the system described by the theory. Thus the theory should show how such knowledge affects these actors' actions, and thus the course of change. In the present framework of theory, this implies that knowledge, in the hands of particular actors, is itself an input resource for certain processes.

Economists concerned with intentional economic change ordinarily leave this element outside their theories -- for they implicitly assume that there is someone with power to manipulate the independent variables of their theories. Since theories of social change are concerned with the whole social system including the structure of power in the society, sociologists cannot as justifiably leave outside their theory a specification of how the knowledge it provides enters the system and initiates a chain of action -- unless they are merely programs for action written implicitly for the use of someone in a given position of power or aspiration to power in society.

Consider, for example, one type of theory which at first appears least deterministic because it focuses on individual personal resources as the locus of change: the theory that social change is brought about by a high achievement orientation, which in turn is created by certain socialization processes. If the theory is to do more than describe an inexorable fate, or be designed for consumption by a person in a particular position of power as a how-to book for his use, it must include as well propositions about how such information can enter and affect the system, ultimately leading to an increase in achievement motivation.

The first point is to recognize that the research product must itself be located as an element in the system of assets and deficits. For in this perspective, the research results themselves can constitute assets that, in combination with other assets, help bring about change. This is often implicit in applied research programs; but I suggest it is better made explicit, so that the research programs can then be evaluated in terms of the kind and amount of assets they can be expected to produce.

I will not go beyond the first step in locating the research product, or knowledge generally, in the system of action, for to do so would require taking the theory of the system considerably beyond its present point. I will simply indicate the points at which the research product, considered as a resource, can enter into the system, and affect the course of change.

The first step in embedding the potential research products in the system of assets and deficits is to note that the principal effect of this asset is in modifying the distribution of other resources. That is, the whole aim of this framework of research is to show the connection between inputs to the system and resulting changes. Thus the implicit use for which it is created (besides showing the expected future state of the system under existing resource allocation) is to show how different resource allocations might be expected to lead to different profiles of assets and deficits. Thus it is the actions of those actors who have control over various resources that the research product should affect. These actors include many different persons, Negro and white, in all branches of government and in organizations of the Negro movement, as well as private organizations of other types who control any resources that can be allocated in the various arenas of action described in Part III.

Given this general view of where the research product is itself located in the system of assets and deficits, it is necessary to examine more closely just what research activities will give useful resources that can affect the course of change. One point emerges immediately, and that is the overall perspective that has been presented: the rather simple idea of viewing the state of Negroes in American society through a set of accounts that lists deficits and assets. This perspective has served to provide a framework within which processes of social change can be viewed. If the perspective is developed with care and imagination, it could have long-range value as a theoretical framework for social change of the types here examined. But its principal present virtue is as the basis for a descriptive set of accounts that can be used for recording changes in the state of Negroes in America, and as guides for action.

The first necessary research activity, then, is a wholly descriptive one: to set up a system of accounts, based on careful and frequent observations, showing the deficits and assets of Negroes in America, both as measures of the current conditions characterizing Negroes, and as measures of the resources that can effect change.

In setting up such a system of accounts, the headings used in this paper are gross ones; the actual accounts would consist of much more detailed categories. For example, under "personal resources" would come occupational productivity, organizational skills, achievement motivation, educational achievement, and other areas. In addition, regional variations, rural-urban variations, and measures of the spread of the distribution as well as the average, are necessary. The degree and type of subgroup disaggregation required remains an open question.

The second necessary research activity is measurement of the conversion factors or transformation coefficients through which certain resources are created from others. This is research of the type that sociologists most often engage in, to learn the effects of certain variables upon others. Yet there is required much more sophistication in conceptualization, in research design, and in measurement, if the results of the research are to be quantitatively useful in providing measures of the conversion of resources.

A third kind of research activity, which goes beyond the measurement of existing conversion factors, is the measurement of effects of new processes. That is, the existing institutional structure constitutes a kind of current technology within which the system operates in each arena of action. Yet if certain conversion processes are very inefficient (for example, if current schools appear to be relatively ineffective in producing achievement in lower-class children) then experiments with new techniques may be tried in a given arena. The estimate of conversion factors for these new institutional arrangements or techniques is necessary to show their potential effect on the entire set of assets and deficits.

A final research activity is one implied by all that has been stated above: the use of the above research results in a model that will allow forward projection of the system of resources under a variety of assumptions about changes in input resources or setting up new institutional arrangements. Such projections allow the use of these research results in social policy, by showing the expected consequences of various alternative policies.

Altogether, the research activities implied by the framework laid down in Parts I, II, and III can probably best be seen by thinking of two kinds of entities: the level of resources of various types existing in the system at any point in time, and the mechanisms through which resources are converted into new resources and the arenas of action within which these mechanisms function. The first research activity is simply a periodic measurement of the state of the resources in the system. The second type of research is measurement of the mechanisms of resource-conversion. The third type of research is measurement of the effects of changes in a given arena of action - changes in the institutional arrangements or techniques which modify the mechanism of conversion. The fourth activity is the use of all this information in giving alternative projections of the system under different resources allocations, and in some arenas of action with new institutional arrangements. I will not describe in detail each of these research activities, for each constitutes in itself a research program of some complexity. However, I will indicate in the following sections a few salient points concerning each of these areas.

1. A System of Accounts Over Time

The set of resources described in Parts I, II, and III plays two roles in the system. Certain of them are the measures of deficits held by Negroes in American society. They are the final criteria in terms of which goals or desired changes are stated. At the same time, most or all of the resources are inputs to the social processes through which changes take place.

In their role as current deficits, the resources require a relative measurement. The measure of deficit is the relative position of Negroes compared to non-Negroes, or of certain subgroups of Negroes compared to other Negroes and non-Negroes. It is this relative position which is a measure of their effective power over their own lives and over actions of the community and Nation.

However, considered as resources that convert into different resources, a measure of the absolute level of the resources is necessary. In this measurement, a fully satisfactory operational definition of the resource is not possible until the form of the conversion process is known. A simple analogy from industrial conversion will indicate how this is so: in the conversion of iron ore into iron, the weight of the iron ore is not a sufficient measure of the resource; necessary also is the proportion by weight of iron in the ore. An example in social conversion processes in schools is similar: as a measure of school resources, it is not sufficient only to know the resources provided by the board of education; the social background and motivations of other students in the school constitute a resource that enters into the conversion process for any given student.

It is necessary, then, to carry out measurement of resources in intimate communication with analysis of the processes themselves. For the processes give appropriate definitions to, or descriptions of, the resources that affect their results. This is not to say that measurement of the resources should wait upon analysis of the relevant processes, or be carried out in conjunction with them. The development of this research tool is a bootstrap operation, and each research activity will be continually refined by the results of complementary activities. It is likely that the measurement of resources should in fact be carried out independently of the analysis of conversion processes, because of the different types of research design implied by the goals, one an extensive estimation of population characteristics, and the other an intensive investigation of the conversion process.

2. Conversion of Assets

The second general type of research complements the system of accounts described above. It is research on the convertibility of assets of one type into assets of another type. It is this question, in different terms, to which most of the hypotheses or theories of social change are directed. These hypotheses have been discussed in the earlier sections, and I will make no attempt to review them here.

My general perspective here and the perspective I suggest in the design of research in this area, is to start by laying out the classes of variables that constitute assets or deficits, and to specify the known relations between them. Then the questions that need to be answered by research are specific details about the form of these processes and quantitative estimates of conversion rates, for those that are known, and exploratory information for those that are quite unknown.

The starting point in this research should be the hypotheses described in Part II, and the evidence on which they are based, together with the further discussion of Part III. As is evident, such research constitutes a very large program, and selectivity is necessary. It is possible, however, to begin by obtaining rough estimates of a large number of the conversion processes than by attempting to obtain precise information on a few. For example, census data can be used to obtain a rough estimate of the convertibility of years of schooling into income, and the convertibility of freedom of social action by virtue of skin color into income, and some work of this kind has been done (Siegel, 1965, Duncan, 1967). There are numerous possibilities for further estimates from administration statistics and census data, and these estimates are crucial for filling out the matrices described in Part III.

There are several additional points that should be noted in research on conversion of assets, and these are listed below.

Some of the relationships under investigation have their effect quickly, while others operate only after some delay. Thus it is necessary to design both short- and long-range research. For example, the effect of increased achievements in education upon a Negro's economic earning power is an effect that occurs only over a period of time. Similarly, the effect of various school conditions upon achievement in school operates over a period of several years. In both of these cases, fortunate circumstances may have made it possible to carry out comparative analysis without examining the same persons over time; but often circumstances are not so fortunate. Thus some research design should include rigorous controls and provision for passage of the necessary time, recognizing that research results based on cross-sectional comparative analysis may often fail to provide conclusive evidence.

A second general point is that any research program must recognize that there are several distinctly different environments in which Negroes are concentrated. The urban North and the rural South are the two most important; but many Negroes are in the urban South as well. A second distinction is between the lower class and the middle class: for the assets and deficits of the middle class are different from those of the lower class. Still a third distinction is a generational difference. The attitudes of each generation of Negroes are shaped by the events that occurred while they were growing up. Thus we may expect the young, twenty years hence, to have political views different in many respects from their parents today. Still another important difference is the difference between an environment that is predominantly Negro and one that is predominantly white. The actions of any minority group are greatly shaped by the size of their minority, and Negroes are no exception.

A third general point is that studies of the convertibility of assets are often best carried out as tests of the use of alternative assets for the same purpose, rather than as single separate tests. This arises from the fact that research methods often do not allow precise quantitative estimates of conversion parameters. Thus results of two studies, each of which examines the conversion of one type of asset, and both with the same output, will often yield results that cannot be directly compared. Consequently, given the crude state of present measurement, it is often best to test such processes against one another.

For example, the hypothesis implied by some economists who attribute unemployment to lack of aggregate demand is that a strong demand creates employment opportunities which give jobs to persons "unemployable" in times of weak demand, and these marginal jobs in turn provide training for more highly skilled jobs. Further, in times of high demand, employers will train workers on the job, while they will not do so in times of weak demand. The hypothesis held by those economists who attribute unemployment to "structural" reasons is that the formal educational system is the principal path of entry into the labor force, and that persons untrained in the formal educational system will not be able to recover in the labor force itself. These alternative and competing hypotheses imply different convertibility of educational and economic resources into occupational skills, and can probably best be tested against one another by appropriate statistical studies.

A final and more extended point in the discussion of research on conversion of assets concerns the social organization of Negroes. It is apparent in much of the preceding discussion that some of the most important existing and potential assets among Negroes lie in organization and cohesion. The effect of this organization can be, as indicated earlier, to reduce deficits in freedom of action and political power, and as well to reduce deficits in personal resources. Or roughly, it can exert power both to the outside, to change the larger white community, and to the inside, to change Negroes themselves. The organization of the Negro movement, the community cohesion of Negroes, and the family cohesion are all quite important in this: the first, the Negro movement, exerting its direct effects on the outside, the family cohesion exerting its direct effects on Negroes themselves, and community cohesion exerting its direct effects in both directions. At present, the first constitutes a powerful asset, while the second and third stand as serious deficits.

Because of their present and potential importance in reducing deficits of Negroes, research on the organization of the Negro movement, the Negro community, and the Negro family demands special attention.

Most organizations in the Negro movement were born as conflict groups. This gives them certain special characteristics: their goals are to win in a social conflict; they tend to be sustained by conflict; leadership of the organization lies with those who are most successful in conflict; and each organization tends to develop particular styles, strategies, and arenas of conflict.

Conflict organizations tend to be shaped and structured by their opposition and by the terms of the dispute. This is most obvious in the effect of a polarization upon the nature of leadership: as a dispute becomes polarized, those leaders who urge collaboration and compromise can no longer gain the support of the followers, and radical leaders take over. It is remarkable that in the civil rights movement the polarization process has waxed and waned; it has not moved inexorably forward as is often the case in conflicts. In Little Rock, Arkansas, at the height of the dispute there was no place for moderates, either white or Negro; the intensity of the conflict destroyed the audience and thus the power of the moderates. Yet since then there have been many subsequent rises and falls in the intensity of the conflict, and in the ability of moderate leaders to gain a following.

It is important to understand far better than we presently do the processes that often carry a conflict into greater and greater intensity, and often push a conflict group into greater and greater radicalism. I say "push" advisedly, because the competition for leadership can push leaders into more violent and radical activity than they themselves desire - merely in order to hold the attention of the followers. It is useful to note that there have been some remarkable Negro leaders in this movement, who have managed to maintain their positions of leadership while holding firmly to moderate strategies of conflict - perhaps the best example is Martin Luther King.

The basic point is that a situation of protracted conflict such as occurs in the Negro movement is a very delicately balanced one, which can easily erupt into violence, as has occurred sporadically in this conflict.

Yet too little is known about the conditions which upset this balance, and the conditions that maintain it. In general, Negro conflict groups have shown great restraint. But what are the factors, besides the personalities of particular men, that have allowed this restraint? And what changes in the structure of the Negro movement would upset it? An example of the kind of problem to be studied here is the conditions of increasing or decreasing radicalism of Negro conflict groups. Increasing radicalism might be explained by the competition for leadership among different groups in the movement. Certainly such competition exists, and its effect is in the direction of increasing radicalism. But why in the direction of increasing radicalism? What determines the direction that such competition leads? And since the radicalism has waxed and waned, and moderation has often prevailed, there are countering factors, some of which may lie in the larger society (e.g., the fact that moderate means have succeeded in gaining legislative action), but some of which may lie within the movement itself.

For these reasons, it is important to have better knowledge of the internal functioning of these conflict groups, and the processes that lead toward and away from violence. The Negro movement constitutes perhaps the most important current asset by which the deficits of Negroes can be overcome. It could perhaps become even a more effective asset for this purpose (for example, in conjunction with information of the sort discussed in other parts of this research section). But it could also run wholly out of control of its present leaders, and bring in response a wave of repression that would wipe out the current assets and create additional deficits.

Study of the Negro neighborhood and community is of a very different sort. The first research task here is merely a descriptive one, to chart the ecology of mutual trust in Negro communities, as well as the kinds of institutions it has spawned -- all the way from help between neighbors to investment in a community cooperative. Little is known, in simple descriptive terms, about the pervasiveness of trust and the kinds of community institutions it has spawned. It is evident that this will vary widely from South to North, from rural to urban, from low-density to high-density Negro neighborhoods.

The direct value of trust-based institutions as capital assets in an economic sense is important enough that simply a description of these assets is an important research result. But a second research aim should be to discover to what extent a trust basis exists, without as full a development of mutual-aid institutions as the base would allow. Such results would show the opportunities for appropriate social policies to build upon the basis of trust; or conversely, would show what social policies might be expected to fail because of the absence of a sufficient base.

A still deeper research aim in this area would be to learn the deterrents to a system of trust, the principal community deficits that undermine the extensive development of a system of trust.

Many Negroes are effectively undermined in their attempts at achievement by the disorganization in their communities. There would be much support from such Negroes for efforts to create neighborhood cohesion; but there are many impediments in the way. Since such cohesion could be a valuable asset to Negroes, it is important to examine in detail the impediments.

There have been many action programs in Negro communities designed precisely to foster such neighborhood self-help. The combined experiences of these programs should itself be a valuable research result -- giving some evidence of what the major impediments are, whether it is in fact feasible to overcome them in all settings, or whether community organization is an asset that can only be achieved as a result of reducing all the other deficits first.

Similar questions can be asked about the Negro family. The effectiveness of strong families is evident in much research; what is not known is how the family can become a strong unit. The "Moynihan hypothesis" is that reconstitution of the role and importance of the male in the family through greater economic opportunity is an important element. Certainly further data beyond those presented by Moynihan can be brought to bear on this question. More generally, what are the principal impediments to the development of a strong family among Negroes?

Many of the questions posed here about organization among Negroes at these levels are mere repetitions of what has been said many times before; and certainly there is research in progress on many of them. The most important point of this section, however, is that the results of such research should be seen not as isolated results, with one or another containing "the answer", but rather as aids for developing organizational assets that are themselves known to be important aids in overcoming other deficits. Many of the questions that arise in governmental action and in actions of the Negro movement are questions about allocation of resources: given a limited set of resources, what is their most effective use to overcome Negro deficits? It is questions like this to which the results of research on Negro national, community, and family organization will provide.

3. Changes in conversion processes

Each arena of action can be conceived as a context within which various conversion processes occur. The family is one such arena in which a wide range of conversion processes take place, the most important being the creation of personal resources in childhood.

In use of the system of assets and deficits discussed in the pages above for creating or modifying change, two kinds of modifications of the existing system are possible. One is a modification of the distribution of input resources. The simplest example of this is in shifting government appropriations between services such as education or job-training, and money income supplements, such as family allowances or a negative income tax. Another example is the shifting of the use of the personal resources of Negro leadership from the arena of the local community in community development programs to the Negro civil rights or black power movement.

But a second kind of modification of the existing system is one that changes the very processes or mechanism in a given arena. One example is the development of quite new kinds of educational institutions. Another is the institution of the poverty program, which created new mechanisms of change within local communities. A third is the job corps, which constitutes a new mechanism of job-training.

This second kind of modification, viewed in the framework of the matrices and sector of Part III, is a modification not of the vector of resources, but of the matrices of conversion coefficients. This may state the matter too simply, and may overstate the difference between the two cases, but the difference is important.* The research required for these changes in process is actual experimentation with the new institutional arrangements: empirical examination of the effects of Head Start, or the Job Corps, or a new Negro action group, or a new community center program. Given the present state of knowledge, it is seldom possible to predict the effects of such processes from the combination of resources that go into them.

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* Some equivalences may exist between resources and conversion coefficients. If a mechanism of conversion is complex in form, with multiplicative relationships between resources, then shifts of

Altogether, then, there is one principal point concerning changes in the conversion process: These changes require more than observation of the ongoing system; they require experimentation with the changed processes themselves, whether in the form of new organizations or institutions, or as new techniques within existing organizations.

4. Contingent projections and optimization

The fourth major type of research depends upon the first and second (and makes use of the third) but goes beyond them. It is the projection of what can be termed "contingent trends", by use of the current accounts of assets and deficits, and knowledge about conversion of assets. Su projections are simulations of future states, contingent upon different actions being taken in the present.

In principle, it is easy to see how such projections or simulations can proceed. If one knows the detailed current state of relevant variables, and the relations between them, then it is in principle possible to project

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certain resources may, in one conceptual framework, be equivalent to changes in conversion mechanisms in another. In one conceptual system, the change of a conventional school system to an educational park might be merely a change in the distribution of input resources, while in the other, it would be a change in the mechanism or process itself. Obviously, in either case, it would be necessary to study empirically the effect of this change.

forward that system of variables to show the effect of changes in one on changes in others. In practice, it is more difficult. Although it is frequently done in natural sciences, economics provides the only example in the social sciences. Input-output analysis has been designed for just that purpose, and has been used in several economies for modelling the effects of different economic policies. But the difficulties that input-output analysis has encountered, although the conversion factors for assets of one type into assets of another are much better known, show the problems that can be expected to arise in making such contingent projections.

The principal rule that must guide work in this area is that action will be taken with or without such explicit projections, and action taken without them will be based on implicit assumptions and implicit mental projections. Thus to be valuable, the explicit contingent projections need not be perfect, but need only be better than the implicit ones otherwise used. Thus they should err on the side of simplicity rather than complexity, to provide modest improvements upon the implicit mental projections.

There are examples of such projections that can be made on the basis of existing data and some that have been done. Ecological-demographic projections, for example, show the consequences of current birth rates and residential patterns for the ecology of metropolitan areas some years hence. Another is educational-occupational. Using information about the current structure of the labor force, the rate of change in this structure, current occupational distributions of Negroes and whites, the relation between education and occupation, trends in educational achievement for Negroes and whites, and projected numbers of Negro and white entrants and leavers of the labor force, it would be possible to project the occupational distribution of Negroes and whites into the future.*

Such projections can become contingent projections by the use of alternative assumptions about certain trends. The results would be of the form, "If it were possible to change the educational achievement of Negroes over the next five years in a different way than expected on the basis of extrapolation of past trends, the effect on the occupational distribution fifteen years hence would be..." They can become optimization models by starting at the other end: by taking as given a desired profile of assets, and asking what distribution of resources will give that profile in the shortest period of time, or a related optimization question.

Such simulations or projections would obviously require mounting a serious and intensive research effort, using skills and experience from economic input-output analysis as well as sociological skills. The value of the results would be, as in the earlier types of research, to provide the informational base for legal, governmental, and Negro-organizational action, as well as to inform the political pressure that can affect such action, in short, to inform those who control particular resources. In particular, projections of this sort can lead groups which see their immediate interest in the prevention of action to see that such inaction is inimical to their long-range interests.

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* see Lieberson, 1967, for an example close to this.

Appendix - Economic models for systems of resource - transformation

It may be instructive to examine briefly some means of describing the conversion of resources that have been developed in economic theory. These descriptions include both Walrasian general equilibrium theory in classical economics, and modern developments stemming from this. There have been several variations in approach, but all of them will be considered under the general heading of input-output analysis. Although certain aspects of input-output analysis, such as optimazation procedures, may have less relevance here than in economics, the explicit development of this technique as a way of describing the conversion of resources in an economic system holds some attraction. In input-output analysis, the economic system is described by a matrix in which the rows represent industries which supply products both to other industries and to final consumer demand. The columns represent these same industries, now not in the role of suppliers, but in the role of users of the output of other industries. Each entry x_{ij} in such a system of accounts is the number of units of the product of industry i (the row industry) used in producing the output of industry j (the column industry). The sum of these entries along row i gives the total number of units of product i used in all industries, including final demand. It is meaningless to sum down a column, because the entries in each row are given in units the product represented by that row. However, column j gives a profile of the relative amounts of different inputs required in industry j. If we divide these entries by the total number of units of j, x_j, which these inputs produced, the resulting numbers, a_{ij}, are the number of units of resource i necessary to produce one unit of resource j. Their dimension is units i input/unit j output. These numbers constitute a kind of standard profile of inputs for resource j, very much like a cook's recipe, or a chemical formula which shows the number of atoms or molecules of each element necessary to create one molecule of the resulting compound.

These coefficients, which are called technological coefficients, represent one of the basic components of input-output analysis. They are assumed, as in a chemical equation or a recipe, to remain fixed in the economic system at hand. The assumptions they imply about the production of resource j are quite strong ones. In particular, if the input resources for producing resource j are in the correct proportions, an addition of more of input i will not affect the output of j -- i will merely be in surplus. These technological coefficients look deceptively like linear regression coefficients, in which the size of the dependent variable, x_j, equals $a_i + b_{ij} x_i + \ldots + b_{nj} x_n$. However, they have exactly inverted dimensions (unit of input per unit output, whereas b_{ij} is unit increase in dependent variable j per unit increase in independent variable i). And the regression coefficients imply that each independent variable i contributes independently to j, with the resulting size of j being a sum of the contributions of each of the independent variables. This means that instead of a fixed ratio of inputs, a totally free ratio of inputs is possible: if an additional quantity, Δx_i, of i were added to the set of inputs, an additional amount of j, $\Delta x_j = b_{ij} \Delta x_i$, would result.

This, then, is one strong and restrictive assumption of input-output analysis: that resources enter into the production of another resource in fixed proportions. This is appropriate for certain material flows in economic activity. It is hardly appropriate for other inputs to economic production, which can enter in varying proportions, such as labor and land in the classic example of agricultural production. Nor is it appropriate for many of the social conversion processes under consideration here, where the creation of one resource may occur through any of several processes, and in any one process differing proportions of input resources may be used. It is, however, where much of the usefulness of input-output analysis in economics lies, for it is clear that if these technological coefficients are fixed, then some complex adjustments must be made to insure that the correct amounts of each ingredient go into each industry in order to arrive at some desired profile of final consumption at the maximum level of production which can be reached. Ordinarily, it is the price system through which the system itself solves this problem of allocation; but input-output analysis can be used for exploring indirect effects on prices of changing consumption profiles, and can be used for allocation purposes as a supplement to the price system.

There are, however, some additions and variations in input-output analysis that bring it somewhat closer to an adequate description of the processes under consideration here. Two of these are of particular interest: the introduction of a second kind of input which is not consumed in the production process, and can be considered as capital; and the introduction of an intermediate concept, a set of "activities" which allow the possibility that one activity can have multiple outputs, rather than a single industry producing a single product.

The capital contributions to the production of resources are introduced in much the same way as the flow of materials. For a given technological arrangement, it is assumed that beyond the flow of materials represented in the matrix described earlier, each industry requires also a certain profile of capital stocks. This capital consists of products from the various industries, but the amount of product i produced per unit time which goes into capital constitutes an addition to the existing supply of capital, rather than merely a replenishing of the flow of consumed resources, as before. The amount of capital resource i required per unit of output j in a given period of time is described by a coefficient similar to the a_{ij}, which can be labelled b_{ij}. The dimensions on b_{ij} are units of capital product i required/(unit of output j/time). The set of a_{ij}'s and b_{ij}'s for a given output j constitute a profile of the amounts of each resource consumed (a_{ij}'s) and each capital resource (b_{ij}'s) necessary to provide one unit output per unit time of j. Any excess of some resource which distorts the profile will simply be wasted or unused inputs.

This modification of input-output analysis brings it only a small step closer to the problem at hand here; it now encompasses both consumed inputs (flows of materials or labor), and non-consumed inputs (capital equipment). Since many of the resources under discussion here are not consumed in the creation of other resources, they are probably most usefully thought of as analogous to the capital portion of input-output analysis. Nevertheless, the same restrictive assumption about a fixed recipe in the production of a given resource remains.

A second modification of the basic framework that brings it considerably closer to the problem of conversion of social resources is the introduction of the intermediate concept of "activity" using a framework of ideas developed by Von Neumann, in a model of economic growth. Despite definite differences between an economic system of production and a system of social resource production, this model appears much closer than the straight input-output model of the problems of social resources.

It is possible to think of two matrices: one shows the inputs of each resource i into the various activities j; and the second shows the outputs of various products k from each of the activities j. The technological coefficients a'_{ij} of the first matrix are analogous to the a_{ij}'s of before; except that instead of units of product j produced is the level of operation of activity j. The dimension on a'_{ij} is units of i input/unit level of activity j. The second matrix consists of a set of productive coefficients, c_{kj}, which have the dimension, units of k produced/unit level of activity j.

Thus if we think of each activity in the system operating at level y_i, ... y_m, then the amount of input i consumed by these activities is $x_i = \sum_{j=i}^{m} a'_{ij}y_j$, and the amount of output k produced by them is $x_k = \sum_{j=i}^{m} c_{kj} y_j$.*

Now this more general model has some extremely useful features from the point of view of economic theory. For example, capital resources, or any resources that are not totally consumed in an activity, need no special treatment. They merely need to be distinguished as a resource, i, with coefficients of input and output a'_{ij} and c_{ij} such that if depreciation is zero, $c_{ij} = a'_{ij}$, and if depreciation is, say, 1% per time period, $c_{ij} = 0.99a'_{ij}$. That is, at unit level of operation of process j, a'_{ij} units of this good are required as input, and $0.99a'_{ij}$ come out as output.

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* We can think of the preceding case, with only one product per industry, as a degenerate case of this one, in which there are the same number of activities as industries, and $c_{ij}=0$ except when k=j, and the a_{ij} of the single-product case equal to a'_{jj}/c_{jj} here. There is some conceptical clarity gained by doing so, because the separation of a_{ij} into two coefficients a'_{ij} and c_{ij} allows formation of the concept of level of operation of the activity, as conceptually distinct from the rate of production of its product.

In this way, resources ranging all the way from those fully consumed in the process of production to those with no depreciation whatsoever, can be included.

The necessity for fixed proportions of outputs from a given process appears not as inappropriate for social conversion processes as does the necessity for fixed proportions of resource inputs. For we ordinarily think of a process having a certain rather fixed "set of consequences", despite the fact that the level of operation of the process might arise through varying combinations of input resources. That is, with the modification as described, introducing the intervening concept of "activity", with a number of inputs and a number of outputs, the model of the economic system comes somewhat closer to that required for the social system.

However, there are a number of important limitations, which probably make even this framework inadequate for the purpose at hand. One is the fact that this model assumes that each resource is a "private good" in the economic sense: its use in one activity precludes its use in another. For most economic goods, this is a reasonable assumption, though even in purely economic activity, there are goods which are "public" in the sense that any number of persons can experience or make use of them simultaneously, without taking from the others. A fire department in a community is a partial public good. Considered as an activity operating at a given level (that is, a given capacity for putting out fire) for one industry in a town, its resources are equally available to all other industries in the same general area (except for the low probability of simultaneous fires). It is possible, of course, to allocate its costs across activities in some arbitrary way, and then to construct a coefficient a'_{ij} which includes in it a multiplication factor that incorporates the value accruing from other activities' payments, but this is not a satisfactory solution if the number of activities changes; and it is not clear that this solution would be satisfactory even if the number of activities remained the same.*

This limitation would not be serious if it were not the case that many of the social resources discussed in the text are closer to economic public goods than to private goods. For example, the level of trust in the community, or the level of family cohesion, or the demographic concentration of Negroes are not "used up" by any activity that depends upon them, but are quite available for other activities.

It may be objected that these are not "resources" at all, but are better conceived as components of the "technological coefficient" which is a conversion ratio relating input to output. But if this position is taken, it means that the very outputs, such as family cohesion, of the processes under consideration cannot (at least not all) be treated as input resources in subsequent time periods, but instead produce fundamental changes in the system - changes in the values of the coefficients - in some unspecified way. Thus this avenue leads to no greater aid.

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* If the technological coefficient for the input of this good (i) to activity j is a'_{ij}, that is, a'_{ij} units of it were required for unit level of operation of the activity j, and if each activity were operating at level y, (j=1, ..., m), then the constraint on this public good i would not be the usual constraint, $x_i \geqslant \sum a_{ij} y_j$, but rather, $x_i \geqslant \max (a'_{ij} y_j)$. That is, the units of i necessary per unit time would be determined by the maximum level required by any activity, rather than by the sum of that required by all. Even with this, however, the coefficient a'_{ij} which served two purposes for private goods (that of showing the required amount of i for unit level of operation of j, and when multiplied by price times quantity, a measure of the ith cost component for activity j) can no longer do so, since the costs are determined by some allocation of the cost of the maximum required level of i, across the various activities. It is possible that by use of an appropriate c_{ij}, this difficulty would be bypassed. If in a given system, with activities operating at given relative levels, activity j required $a'_{ij} y_j$ of i for its operation, but needed to pay only for .05 of that much i, because of cost sharing, then the costs could be kept straight by setting $c_{ij} = 0.95$.

This approach to the problem of certain intangible resources like community trust is closely related to a more general defect of the economic models for the present use. This is the fact that it is explicitly not the case that each social process or activity requires a fixed recipe of inputs. Nor is the level of the social transformation process determined merely by an additive sum of inputs, as regression coefficients would imply. Further, it appears in many cases that the resources are multiplicative. A man's economic production depends, it seems reasonable to suggest, on the product of his productivity and the level of opportunity. Such product terms have no place in the linear models under consideration. All the multiplicative or other non-linear aspects of the process are packed into the technological coefficients, which remain fixed. Yet it is clearly the case that some of the most important processes of interest here involve the product of, or at least some form of interaction between, resources that are variables in the system. It seems quite likely that the processes can be best represented by some set of equations that include both additive and multiplicative terms.

If now we try to extract what can be useful from the economic models of resource-transformation, there are the following elements:

a. The idea of a set of input resources, each described by their amount or level in the system at a given time, and each constituting inputs to a process or activity;

b. The idea of a process or activity operating at a given level, which may have multiple inputs and multiple outputs. Although the idea of a fixed recipe of inputs is inappropriate, the idea of fixed proportions of outputs from a given activity or process does appear reasonable.

c. The idea of resources that may be consumed in the process of creation of new resources, as well as those which are not consumed in the process.

As treated in the economic models, there are two ways of formally handling this difference. One is Lentief's approach in his dynamic system, in which the basic variables as defined are stocks, and the consumption of these in the creation of further resources is a time-derivative. Capital goods are represented in this system simply as quantities that have a low rate of consumption (i.e., depreciation). A second way is that of Von Neumann, in which each activity has inputs and outputs, with those variables that appear only as inputs constituting the consumed resources, and those that appear both as inputs and as outputs constituting the capital resources.

d. The general idea of optimization subject to a set of initial resource constraints. Although this aspect of input-output analysis has not been discussed here, it could constitute, when appropriately adapted to the social model, an important tool in deciding about allocation of resources. For there is no price system and no competitive mechanism to insure the most efficient allocation of resources for a given set of demands.

I will not attempt to begin the construction of a formal model describing the system discussed in the text. At the present stage, this would serve no useful purpose; but in the very design and execution of research following in these directions, it is important to take the next step beyond the present examination, into the development of a formal model whose variables can be quantitatively measured, and whose conversion coefficients are also well-defined enough to allow measurement.

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